THE MORMON OUTPOST OF SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

by

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PREFACE

In this paper I have tried to make a summary of the colonizing policies and the methods used by the Mormon leaders. Emphasis is placed on the San Bernardino settlement in the "outer cordon." Because of the similarity in procedure I have reviewed the founding of some of the settlements in the "inner cordon."

San Bernardino became the southwestern outpost and the key settlement in the "Corridor to the sea." It offered greater attractions and possibilities than any of the other outposts and was by far the largest undertaking.

San Bernardino was founded in a region already occupied by non-Mormons. This definitely had an influence upon the type of control the leaders were able to apply.

The wisdom of the venture can only be appraised in terms of the experiences gained and the possible values such an undertaking would have had had it fulfilled its purpose.

The terms "Gentiles" and "Saints" are used to denote Non-Mormons and Mormons. This usage is customary among Mormon Church members.

To the Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints I wish to express a profound feeling of gratitude for permission to collect historical data from

files and original records of the church. Deep appreciation is expressed to Dr. Leland Hargrave Creer for guidance and valuable suggestions on the content of this paper. I am very grateful to Dr. G. Homer Durham and Dr. W. Harold Dalgliesh for their assistance in the writing of this thesis. I, also, wish to thank the Librarian of the University of Utah for helpful materials obtained from the Treasure Room and files of the Library.

CHAPTER I

MORMON EXPANSION

The narrative of the settlement of the Mormon outposts, or the colonization by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, on the outer edge of the Great Basin, showed a vision of magnitude on the part of the leaders of that religious group. The hardships, the energies, and the privations necessary to achieve such gigantic undertakings were remarkable. Within four years of the establishment of their base and headquarters at Salt Lake City, they had expanded their settlements to the west some eight hundred miles and to the southwest nearly seven hundred miles. The extent of the territory occupied by this "theo-democratic" state, in the first ten years of colonization, is, perhaps, unparalleled in the annals of history.[1]

Brigham Young, who succeeded Joseph Smith as the Mormon leader, led his Saints from Winter Quarters, (now Omaha) Nebraska to the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. This barren, desolate region, fifteen hundred miles beyond the frontier of American civilization, offered the seclusion

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[1] Hunter gives a list of nearly one hundred towns and cities founded during this period. They extended from Fort Lemhi, 379 miles north of Salt Lake City, to San Bernardino, 700 miles south, and from Forts Bridger and Supply, 125 miles east, to Carson Valley, some 550 miles to the west of the city. Hunter, Milton R., Brigham Young, the Colonizer, 361.

and protection the indomitable leader desired. Here, he was sure, communities could be established free from the influence of the outside or "Gentile" world, and with a great deal of hard work the land could be made to produce a livelihood for his people.

Prior to reaching the Great Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young had learned much about the surrounding region.[1] Trappers had given him descriptions of Cache and Utah Valleys.[2] Samuel Brannan, who had taken a Mormon party by boat from New York to San Francisco, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains and met Brigham's advanced company on the Green River. Brannan attempted to persuade the Mormon leader to make his settlement in California. He gave a detailed account of his

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[1] The Mormons, during the winter of 1846-47, camped on the banks of the Missouri River where Omaha and Council Bluffs now stand. They made preparations for their trek westward and acquainted themselves with all the available information concerning the west. Fremont's Journal and maps were in their hand. They had copies of the latest Mitchell maps. Father Pierre Jean De Smet, the Jesuit missionary, visited their camp and gave them the accounts of his journeys in the west. See, Journal History, April 4, 1847; also Cowley, M.F., Wilford Woodruff, 306; Neff, Andrew Love, History of Utah, 78; and Young, Levi Edgar, Founding of Utah, 84-87.

[2] The advanced company of Mormons, while enroute to the Great Salt Lake Valley, met several veteran trappers and explorers of the west - James H. Grieve, Thomas L. (Peg-leg) Smith, Major Harris, and Captain "Jim" Bridger. See, Pratt, Orson, Journal, June 27, 1847. Also, Neff, op. cit., 83; Alter, J. Cecil, James Bridger, 189; Woodruff, Wilford, Journal, June 27, 1847; Clayton, William, Journal, June 27, 28, and 29, 1847; and Cowley, op. cit., 306.

trip over the northern route and the possibilities for colonizing in the San Francisco area.

By the time the advanced company of Mormons arrived in the Great Basin, Brigham Young had made definite plans to explore the region.[1] Exploring parties were sent out in various directions to locate sites for future colonies and to determine the amount of timber, the water supply and the grazing possibilities of the mountain sides. Parties were dispatched into the Tooele, Weber, Cache, and Utah valleys. Additional information and geographical data were brought to Brigham that fall when Captain James Brown, a Mormon Battalion member, returned from California.[2] He had accompanied Brannan back to San Francisco by way of the northern immigration route. Also, that autumn, many other former Battalion

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[1] Woodruff states, "He intended to have every hole and corner from the Bay of San Francisco known to us." Woodruff, op. cit., July 28, 1847.

[2] When the Mormon Battalion reached Santa Fe the men invalided and their escorts together with the women and children belonging to the Battalion, were given the privilege of intercepting the main body of their people moving westward, at government expense. Captain James Brown of Company C was placed in charge of this detachment. They wintered at Pueblo, Colorado and in the spring followed the pioneer company led by Brigham Young, into the valley. They arrived in Salt Lake on July 29, 1847. As this group of Battalion members had not been discharged from the Army or received their pay, it became the duty of Captain Brown to take care of this. They were mustered out by his orders in Salt Lake and he made a trip to San Francisco, California to receive the money due himself and the other members. See Roberts, B.H., The Mormon Battalion, 32.

members came to Salt Lake from California and contributed more facts concerning this northern route. They brought fascinating accounts of the fertility and the possibility of Southern California, where they had been stationed following the completion of their overland journey as a part of General Stephen W. Kearny's army which was sent to conquer California in the Mexican War.

More first hand information was added, when later in the fall of 1847 Jefferson Hunt led a group to southern California over the Old Spanish Trail. Hunt had served as a captain in the Mormon Battalion and while stationed in the vicinity of Los Angeles had made the acquaintance of Isaac Williams, the owner of the Santa Chino Rancho, which was located due east of Los Angeles. Hunt learned from Williams that there was an abundant supply of seeds and cattle which could be purchased at reasonable prices. This he reported to the Mormon leaders on November 13th. They immediately appointed him to guide a company of eighteen men to southern California to secure these needed supplies. This group actually blazed the trail which later became the travelled route.

By the spring of 1848, many of the Valleys of the Wasatch Range had been covered by exploring and scouting

parties,[1] and both the northern and southern routes to California had been charted. As the resources of the Great Basin were unfolded, Brigham Young's plan of colonization developed and crystalized into a great "ecclesiastical commonwealth" controlling much of the west. The Mormons had twice built communities on the frontier near other religious groups and in each instance had been forced by mob violence to leave and move elsewhere. Brigham Young was now determined to prevent any such recurrence. His plans for colonization may be divided roughly into three periods each covering about a decade.[2] The first period, of course, begins with the entry of the Saints into the Great Salt Lake

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[1] Two days after the Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, ten men were dispatched to the Tooele Valley, under the leadership of Orson Pratt.

On the 9th day of August 1848 Jesse C. Little, with three companions, was sent to explore Cache Valley. They accompanied Captain Brown as far north as Bear River. At the Weber River they visited Miles Goodyear's Fort.

Albert Carrington and two companions went to Utah Valley on August 12th. They made part of the journey by means of a boat on the Jordan River. In December Parley P. Pratt made a rather thorough exploring tour of Utah and Cedar Valleys. He returned by way of Tooele Valley to the south end of Great Salt Lake. See: Journal History, July 27 and August 9, 1847; Pratt, Parley P., Autobiography, 360; and Neff, op. cit., 95.

[2] Hunter gives the dates of these periods as: 1847 to 1857, 1858 to 1867, and 1868 to 1877. In the second period expansion was more gradual and principally northward. Land settlements and towns were begun near well established colonies in order to strengthen the valleys centrally located. The last period, like the first, was one in which colonization was projected far distant from Salt Lake City, mainly in Arizona near the Little Colorado and Gila Rivers in Idaho. Hunter, op. cit., 355.

Valley and continues until 1857, when the threat of war[1] brought it to an abrupt close. It is during this period that the outposts were established and the far flung colonizing plan to create an inland empire was in motion.

Salt Lake City was chosen as the main settlement and the control center for all further colonization. Other strategic places were to be founded which in turn would aid in the settlement of the near by region. But the parent colony, from which direction and supervision would come was Salt Lake City, the "Mormon Mecca." Here Brigham Young and his able associates could in reality carry on laboratory experiments and work out definite patterns for the establishment of other cities and towns.[2]

Mormon migration had been persistently westward until Salt Lake City was founded. The geographical factors

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[1] An army of some 2500 men, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, was dispatched to Utah in 1857 to put down an alleged rebellion. See Grove, Jesse A., The Utah Expedition, 1857-58; also McGavin, E. Cecil, U.S. Soldiers Invade Utah, passim.

[2] The process of planning Salt Lake City began on July 28, 1847. The townsite was laid out in rectangular block containing ten acres and each block divided into eight lots. One house could be built on each lot, in the center and twenty feet back from the sidewalk. The streets were eight rods wide with the sidewalks twenty feet. Four parks of ten acres each were laid out and forty acres was reserved for a temple block (this was later reduced to ten). One hundred and thirty-five blocks were surveyed in 1847. On the outskirts of the city tracts of land containing five, ten, and twenty acres was held for farms and pastures. See: Journal History, July 28, 1847. Also, Tullidge, E.W., History of Salt Lake City, 47, and Woodruff, op. cit., July 28, 1847.

of the Great Basin altered this. The direction of the colonizing movement took a north and south course from the central city. Other habits of frontier living were, also, disregarded. The Saints had lived in compact groups in a continuous area or in the proximity of the main settlement. This custom was somewhat discarded and a broken line of colonies was made paralleling the Wasatch Range and skirting the western deserts. Mountain streams, fertile valleys, and advantageous positions were the decisive factors in the location of settlements. Some of these were a great distance from Salt Lake City.

The limitations of water and feed in the close vicinity of the city and the instructions by Brigham Young to conserve the nearer feed led to the herding of cattle at some distance to the north of the city.[1] The towns of Bountiful, Farmington, Kaysville, and Centerville were out-growths of the camps of the herds-men.

Groups of the pioneers spread to the southern part of the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 and 1849 in their search for suitable land on which to locate farms. Big Cottonwood, Little Cottonwood, Sugar House, Mill Creek, the Jordan settlements, and Draper were founded and soon became thriving communities.

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[1] The First General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church, in Journal History, September 8, 1847.

It was not the purpose of the church leaders to concentrate the stream of immigrants that was pouring into the Great Basin in one populous city and its close vicinity, but rather to scatter them over the entire productive area. Not only would this insure land on which they could work out a subsistence but the rapid occupation of it would exclude others not of their religious belief. If there were no tillable lands available there would be no inducement for Gentiles to settle among them, and little possibility of conflicts as they had known elsewhere. Thus, rapid colonization on the streams and in all the valleys of the great intermountain area was "an instinctive part of a defensive program, and a protective measure."[1]

Settlements established during the ten years that followed the founding of Salt Lake may be divided into two groups, based upon their geographical location: the "inner cordon," or those within the Great Basin, and the rather far distant outposts that circled the rim of this basin area.

The founding of Fort Utah, in 1849, marked the beginning of the colonization of the "inner cordon of settlements which composed the geographical heart of Mormondom."[2] An inspection tour of the Weber River area soon followed

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[1] Neff, op. cit., 148.

[2] Ibid., 209.

and a town site for the city of Ogden was laid out.

The Mormon colonizing system was basically the same as that used in the founding of Puritan New England. It was a collective enterprise under the direction of the ecclesiastical leaders. The church was the only organization social, economic, or political. It took care of both the spiritual and temporal functions of the life on the frontier. The church was easily able to handle the temporal affairs through its agencies. "For a lawmaking power, there was the High Council; for courts there were the ecclesiastical tribunals, namely the Bishop, High Council, Traveling High Council and the First Presidency; for a law executing arm the Nauvoo Legion; and for revenue, church tithes and offerings."[1] The leaders generally selected the site for a proposed colony, but before the colonizing party was sent out the approval of the rank and file of the church members was obtained at a general meeting.[2]

The settlement of Sanpete Valley gives, perhaps, a typical example of the colonizing methods used by Brigham

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[1] Creer, Leland Hargrave, Utah and the Nation, 59.

[2] Brigham Young carefully supervised the settlement of the Great Basin. "He sent out exploring parties to select favorable sites for new colonies or it may be that he chose the site himself. On many occasions he personally supervised the laying out of the towns into definite surveyed blocks." For many years he made annual inspection trips throughout the territory. Hunter, op. cit., 15.

Young, as well as the hardships and privations encountered in establishing the key settlements. Sanpitch Indians (later called Sanpete) under Chief Walker, came to Salt Lake City during the spring of 1849 and requested that Mormon colonists be sent to their valley to make settlements and teach them to cultivate the soil and live the white man's ways. President Young was interested in the accounts given by the Indians and sent exploring parties to the valley.[1] The party sent out in August covered the region very carefully and recommended the present site of Manti for the location of a colony. Their reports found favor with the Mormon leaders and at the October conference of the church Isaac Morley, Charles Shumway, and Seth Taft were notified that they were to form the presidency of the proposed settlement. On the following day a public announcement of the enterprise was made to the congregation who in turn voted in favor of it. The Mormon leader recommended that only young men with their families be chosen as settlers.

President Morley left Salt Lake City October 28, 1849 for the proposed settlement. His company was augmented as they traveled south until it finally consisted of one hundred twenty-five men and one hundred women. They arrived in

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[1] "Prior exploration of the region had presumably been made by two parties, early records mentioning one in the spring of 1849, and another in August." Neff, op. cit., 155.

the valley November 22, and the President chose a site for their encampment near a small hill. The settlers immediately commenced preparing shelters. A few built log houses, others made dugouts in the hill side, while some prepared to live in their wagons.

In December some six or seven hundred Indians, under Walker visited the camp. They pitched their tents and stayed all winter. Before the settlers had completed adequate shelters, snow began to fall and bitter-cold winter closed in on them. They had gone lightly provisioned expecting to keep a supply line open to Salt Lake City, and when the heavy snowfall marooned them they faced starvation. More than half of their cattle died from the intense cold and lack of feed, and the carcasses were readily eaten by the Indians. The settlers met their dilemma bravely and with the aid of friendly Indians were able to bring enough supplies through by the means of hand sleds and snow shoes to avert a tragedy.

Few of the comforts of life were theirs during the first winter the pioneers spent in the Sanpete Valley,[1]

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[1] "We have put up about 20 houses, but some of our people live in tents and in caves of earth .....We draw wood on hand sleds, half mile....Part of our men are kept busy clearing off snow so the cattle may find grass." Morley to Young, Journal History, February 20, 1850

but with the coming of spring better living conditions were soon provided. They built homes and a school house, laid out the plans for a stone fort, plowed the ground and planted their crops.[1] From the pine trees of the vicinity they made fine shingles. Several loads of these were taken to Salt Lake during the summer.

President Young and a few of the leading brethren made a visit to Sanpete Valley in August. He chose the site for a city, which was named Manti,[2] and its survey was commenced immediately. He offered the settlers two hundred dollars to construct a good road through Salt Creek Canyon, the place of the blockade the winter before.

There was no intentions on the part of the leader to found colonies and then leave them isolated to work out their future. A call was made, in the fall of 1850, for one hundred men with or with out families to go to Sanpete to bolster up the colony there and to aid in settling other

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[1] By May 250 acres of wheat, some barley, oats and potatoes had been planted. When President Young's party visited the settlement they pronounced the crops the best they had seen in the Basin area. See, Sanpete Stake Historical Records, May 17, 1850, also Journal History, August 5, 1850.

[2] Isaac Morley, President of the Stake, was given the honor of naming the first settlement in the Sanpete Valley. He named it Manti after the city of the same name referred to in the Book of Mormon. In the Fifth General Epistle, Brigham Young announced that Manti City had been given a charter by the general Assembly of Deseret. This was the first time the name Manti was applied to the Sanpete Settlement in Church literature. Sanpete Stake Historical Records, April 7, 1851.

suitable places in the vicinity. Plans were formulated to connect all settlements with the parent colony by a good road and later by a railroad. A company was chartered in 1850 by the Assembly of Deseret for the purpose of running a regular coach line between Ogden and Sanpete.[1] For the first two years Manti had no special built fort. For protection the houses and shelters were built as close together as possible. But by June 1852 they boasted a fine stockade. The walls were built of lime stone and were eight feet high and two feet thick, and were provided with portholes and bastions. The Fort was an enclosure of about one hundred square rods.[2]

The city was laid out in typical Mormon fashion. The streets were wide and ran at right angles. Streams of water ran on either side next to the sidewalks and shade trees lined their banks. From this key colony Brigham Young established communities throughout the valley wherever there was an attractive mountain stream or an available townsite. Mount Pleasant, Ephriam, Spring City and several other towns

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[1] Journal History, September 13, 1850.

[2] As the population of Manti increased the size of the fort was enlarged. In October 1854 the fort enclosed an area of 408 square rods. The wall which was then three feet thick and eight feet high was raised to fifteen feet in height. This extra precaution was probably due to the Walker War, which was then plaguing the region. Journal History, October 15, 1854.

were soon founded from this base.

Other important centers were established in Iron County and the Pauvan Valley. As industry increased in the Mormon capital the need of an ample supply of iron became pressing. Parley P. Pratt returned, late in 1849, from an exploring trip in the Little Salt Lake Valley, some two hundred fifty miles south of Salt Lake City, and reported that a mountain of iron ore had been discovered. A solution to the metal problem was now in sight if a colony, planted in the valley, could establish an iron foundry. Apostle George A. Smith was given the task of forming the settlement.

The Pauvan Valley is rather centrally located in the Great Basin. Jefferson Hunt and other early travelers mentioned it as being one of the best locations for a settlement. As colonization had expanded southward more rapidly than to the north, and San Beranrdino was settled in 1851, this valley became the logical center for the empire Brigham Young was building up. The Utah Territorial Legislature passed an act designating Chalk Creek (Pauvan Valley) as the site of the capital of the territory.[1] On October 28, 1851, Brigham Young selected the new capital site and laid out the plans for the city which he called Fillmore. The south wing of a planned State House was completed in 1855 and the

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[1] Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Territory of Utah, 224. Compilation of 1851.

fifth session of the Legislature of the Territory of Utah convened there December 7. Only the one session was held in Fillmore, but the establishment of the city had filled an important link in the Mormon Corridor to the western sea.

The organization of the State of Deseret in 1849 illustrates rather well the colonizing and expansion designs of the Mormons. Brigham Young had intimated, in 1846, that he had plans for a great empire in the west. In a letter to President Polk he stated: "As soon as we settle in the Great Basin we design to petition for territorial government, bounded on the north by British and on the south by Mexican domains, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade Ranges.[1]

The boundaries prescribed for the State of Deseret, which was organized in February 1849, showed how broad this colonization and expansion plan really was. This State included all of Utah, most of Nevada and Arizona, about two thirds of Colorado, the western half of New Mexico, parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon, and the southern portion of California. All together the region embraced an area of about 490,000 square miles. Its "circumference was drawn with obvious regards to the outstanding physical features - the mountain walls on the west and east, the latter being

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[1] Brigham Young to President Polk, Journal History, August 9, 1846.

none other than the Continental Divide; while the zig-zag contour of the Great Basin supplied the northern line of demarcation. Southward the line reached the Mexican border. Last but not least Deseret possessed a harbor- an access to the sea."[1]

The embodiment of so vast a region into a single political unit controlled by the Mormons, further substantiates the determination on the part of the leaders to build up a retreat in the west that would be comparatively safe from outside interference.

Nature had provided a geographical outline of mountains, rivers and deserts, which offered a fairly secure barricade for this interior empire with few pregnable spots. By acquiring all the advantageous agricultural regions and the key points of entry on the rim of the Great Basin a large degree of security and protection would be afforded the center of Mormondom. The weak spots in this natural barricade were strengthened by the establishment of the Mormon Station in Carson Valley, at the foot of the pass over the Sierra; Fort Supply and Bridger on the eastern entrance; the Elk Horn Mission at Moab, on the southeast; Fort Lemhi in the north on the Salmon River; and San Bernardino, near Cajon Pass on the southern entry.

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1 Neff, op. cit., 117.

Settlements at these outposts gave the Mormons control of all the main routes of travel into the Basin area. Forts Supply and Bridger offered a resting place for immigrants and a chance for them to replenish their supplies before making the last one hundred and twenty-five miles of their weary journey into Salt Lake City. Immigrants to the Oregon country who would not go through Salt Lake would be profitable customers at these half-way stations. The Mormon Station proved to be a rest haven to the travelers over the Donner Pass and many belated individuals were saved from the fate of the Donner Party by the presence of this settlement. It was comparatively close to the gold diggings and might bring favorable profit by the high prices. The settlement at San Bernardino offered the greater possibility of them all. There was an outfitting station fifty miles from a seaport that controlled a route to the Mormon headquarters which was usable the year round. Immigrants and supplies could be brought into the Basin through this southwest corridor.

In spite of the fact that California was admitted into the Union as a State and Congress, in creating the Territory of Utah, had greatly reduced the domains of "Deseret," prior to the establishment of these outposts, Brigham Young did not curtail his colonization plan. Although he would not be able to hold political control he lost no time

extending economic control over this inter basin region and its corridor to the sea.

CHAPTER II

SAN BERNARDINO VALLEY CHOSEN AS AN OUTPOST

The center of Mormondom was definitely established in the Great Basin during the years 1847 to 1850. But with the discovery of gold in California the route through Salt Lake City became the thoroughfare to the "diggings." While the Mormons derived some advantages from the trade with these emigrants, the influx of so many thousands of adventurers to the west presented great problems to the leaders. A few of these gold seekers came from the Missouri frontier where they had previously been antagonistic to the Saints. Now the seclusion and isolation that the Great Basin had offered in 1847 would be greatly jeopardized if large groups of the Gentiles should settle in some of its valleys.

The membership of the church in 1847 was approximately thirty thousand, many of whom were still in the British Isles. The church leaders realized that it would be impossible for so few people to hold a region as vast as this Basin even if all could be brought there. This realization led to the adoption of a more extensive missionary policy not only to the British Isles but to most European countries, South America, the Islands of the Pacific, and even to Asia. The purpose of this proselyting movement was to increase the personnel of the church and to foster the gathering of the

Saints to their rendezvous in the western mountains. Some thirty organized companies had migrated from England to the Mormon headquarters prior to their expulsion from Nauvoo, but after their settlement in the Salt Lake Valley this rate was greatly increased.[1]

Because many of the new converts were too poor to afford the expense involved and equipment required for making the long trip across the plains, a company was organized for the purpose of collecting money to lend to these immigrants.[2] The proselyting effort succeeded in increasing the membership of the church at a more rapid rate than they could be migrated to Utah even with the help of this fund.

The route traveled by the Mormon pioneers started at Omaha or Council Bluffs and extended over plains and mountains for a thousand miles. This was a long and tedious journey and as it was blocked by snow during the winter season the leaders were ready to aid in the development of a plan or route that would make migration easier. When petitions to the United States Congress to build a national road or a railroad failed to bring evidence of any immediate results it was only natural that they should give some attention to

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[1] See, Hunter, op. cit., 87.

[2] The "Perpetual Immigration Fund Company" was incorporated in 1850 with Brigham Young at the head. The funds raised by this company aided some 70,000 European converts in coming to Utah. See, Neff, op. cit., 580.

the possibilities of developing the southern route to California and the founding of a terminus near the Pacific Ocean. Such a colony might serve several purposes. It could be used as an outfitting point for migration over a route only one half as long as the eastern one. A settlement located near the southern point of entry into the Great Basin would be a sort of guardian to the inner settlements and at the same time would offer the Saints a chance to locate in a semi-tropical climate.

The San Bernardino Mountains form the southwestern rim of the Great Basin. The most accessible route across these is by way of the Cajon Pass.[1] This pass leads into a beautiful valley that was named San Bernardino by Fray Francisco Dumetz in 1810. This valley is so located as to fit perfectly into the colonizing scheme of the Mormon leaders. It was on the outer rim of the Basin and commanded the most feasible southern point of entry, and, also, was near excellent Pacific seaports. The importance of the valley to the colonizing plan can readily be ascertained when one realizes that less than four years after the first settlement

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[1] "Among the various openings into Southern California from the desertside, Cajon Pass is easily outstanding. --- The pass area is the result, so geologists tell us, of the overlapping of the east end of the San Gabriel and the west end of the San Bernardino mountain ranges. Today, through it speed railroad trains, automobiles, and airplanes." Beattie, George, W., Heritage of the Valley, 327.

was made in the Salt Lake Valley, and before many of the "inner" valleys were settled, a company of some five hundred persons left the Mormon capital and trekked nearly six hundred miles to establish themselves in this "outer cordon" valley.

The Catholic Fathers from the San Gabriel Mission were the first white men to explore the San Bernardino Valley to any extent.[1] They were interested in extending their mission activity into the interior and in adding a second line of missions to the one existing along the coast. Fray Dumetz led an expedition inland and selected several desirable sites. During the years 1810 to 1834 several mission ranches were established for the Christianized Indians. The largest of these, called Guachama[2] by the Indians, was located south of the present city of San Bernardino. It later was referred to as "Old San Bernardino." The activity and number of Indians attached to it made its appearance more like a mission than an outpost ranch.

After the secularization of the Catholic mission lands,

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[1] Pedro Fayes, the Spanish Military commander of California, entered the San Bernardino Valley in 1772 in pursuit of soldiers who had deserted the Presido of San Diego. Fray Francisco Garces passed through the southern corner of the valley on the way from the Colorado River to San Gabriel in 1776. Neither Fayes or Garces were interested in the valley, their passage through it was merely incidental. See Ibid., 3.

[2] See Beattie, George W. "San Bernardino Valley in the Spanish Period," in Ann. Pub. So. Cal. Historical Society, 1923.

in 1834, many of the mission ranches of the San Bernardino Valley, as elsewhere in California, were taken over by private individuals. Antonio Maria Lugo, a wealthy Spaniard living at Los Angeles, obtained several land grants from Governor Alvarado in this as well as other valleys. These lands soon became privately owned ranches well stocked with cattle. The ranches having direct bearing upon our subject were known to the Spanish population as the "Rancho de San Bernardino" and the "Rancho Santa Ana Chino." The Chino ranch was located some thirty miles east of Los Angeles and about thirty-five miles southwest of the present city of San Bernardino. In 1842 Lugo sold half interest in this ranch to his son-in-law Isaac Williams, an American who later befriended the Mormons upon their arrival in the valley. He later deeded the other half to Williams' two daughters as an inheritance gift. The San Bernardino ranch was located sixty-five miles east of Los Angeles and about fifteen miles southeast of the summit of Cajon Pass. It included some nine leagues, or 37,700 acres and is occupied today by the cities of Redlands and San Bernardino. Lugo turned this grant and one in the Yucaipa valley over to his three sons, Jose del Carmon, Jose Marie, and Vincent. They settled on this tract and built a residence on the ground now occupied by the San Bernardino County Court House. In addition to this grant another nine leagues were under their control for

colonization purposes.

The first Mormons to visit the San Bernardino Valley were members of the Mormon Battalion. At least a part of this group seems to have traveled through this valley enroute to Los Angeles. Mr. Coray, a Battalion member, writes, "We camped at San Bernardino, a deserted Spanish town. This place has been vacated fifteen years; the Apache Indians drove them away and scattered their cattle."[1] They stayed at this camp for two or three days and slaughtered some cattle for food.

When the disorder that accompanied the Mexican War ceased in California and the demands on the United States army were lessened, the Mormon Battalion was assigned to garrison duty in Los Angeles and vicinity. In April 1847 soldiers of the Battalion were stationed at the Chino ranch to "operate under the guidance of Mr. Williams on the occasion of hostile Indians showing on the ranchos in the vicinity."[2] A guard was also placed in Cajon Pass at the same time to ward off marauding Indian incursions from that direction. Several of the Battalion members stationed at Chino Ranch obtained furloughs and aided Williams in the harvesting of his grain crop, in digging a mill race and setting up a

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[1] Journal History, December 2, 1846.

[2] Tyler, Daniel, A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion, 278.

small grist-mill.[1]

The men of the Battalion were impressed with the resources of this valley and with its desirability as a site for a Mormon colony. Daniel Tyler, one of the soldiers at Chino, stated that thousands of head of beef cattle were slaughtered merely for their hides and tallow; and that Mr. Williams had about a thousand acres of wheat, with some barley, beans, peas, and large vineyards.[2] Captain Jefferson Hunt and three other officers of the Battalion sent a letter, from Los Angeles, to Brigham Young, dated May 14, 1847, which contained the following: "We have a very good offer to purchase a large valley sufficient to support fifty thousand families, connected with other excellent country which might be obtained. The ranch connected with the valley is about thirty miles from this place, and about twenty miles from a good ship landing.[3] We may have the land and stock consisting of eight thousand head of cattle, the increase of which was three thousand head last year, and an immense quantity of horses, by paying five hundred dollars down and taking our time on the remainder, if we only had the privilege to buy it. There are excellent water

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[1] Golder, F.A., The March of the Mormon Battalion, 225.

[2] Tyler, op. cit., 278.

[3] The ranch referred to was undoubtedly Chino, but it is some fifty miles from San Pedro, the nearest ship landing.

privileges on it."[1] These descriptions and recommendations of Battalion members, who arrived in Utah in the fall of 1847, did not bring about an immediate authorization to purchase property for a settlement but it most certainly had an influence on the colonization plans of the Church leaders.

On November 18, 1847 the first Mormon party to explore the Southern route to California left Salt Lake City for the San Bernardino Valley. They were sent out by the Church Council to obtain cows, mules, mares, wheat, and other seeds for planting and bring them back to the new Mormon settlement. They were authorized to make their purchases with cash and credit. A paper signed by the member of the council binding them individually and collectively was their collateral. With Jefferson Hunt acting as guide, the company of eighteen men proceeded southward following the route blazed by Jedediah Smith some twenty years earlier. After forty-five days of traveling they reached Williams ranch at Chino in an exhausted condition, as they had taken provisions for only thirty days. Mr. Williams treated the group very hospitably and sold them some two hundred cows, several pack animals and mares, and a good quantity of seed. They left Chino in February and followed the Old Spanish Trail again, arriving at Salt Lake City in May 1848. The round

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[1] Ibid., 252.

trip had been made in less than six months and proved the feasibility of this route for winter travel.

Following closely upon the heels of their former captain, Jefferson Hunt, a group of twenty-five Battalion members who had completed their second enlistment, blazed this Old Spanish Trail for the covered wagon. Although most of their supplies were carried on pack animals they brought a wagon through the Cajon Pass, across the Mojave Desert to Las Vegas, up the Muddy Valley, across the Escalante Desert to Beaver Creek and onward to Chalk Creek and Salt Creek (Nephi) then through the Utah Valley to Salt Lake. They arrived in the city on the 5th of June 1848 with the wagon intact thus ushering in the Covered Wagon Era in the Southwest.

This trail that Mormon Battalion members had blazed soon became a regular traveled route to California. The first wagon train to travel southward on this route left Salt Lake City in October 1849. This was a large train consisting of about one hundred wagons and the men in the group numbered about five hundred. Most of them were headed for the "diggings." They had arrived in Salt Lake City so late in the season that any attempt to cross the Sierras before the next spring would certainly have ended as tragic for them as it did for the belated Donner Party.[1] These

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[1] Houghton, Eliza P. Donner, Expedition of the Donner Party, passim.

"forty-niners," not desiring to spend the winter in Salt Lake, offered Jefferson Hunt one thousand dollars to guide them to the California coast. It was with this group that the first Mormon missionaries travelled the southern route. Apostle Charles C. Rich and five others were bound for the Society Islands. George Q. Cannon accompanied by twenty more were going to other missions. On the wagon belonging to Rich was an odometer, used for measuring distances. Every ten miles one of the men drove a stake into the ground bearing the name C.C. Rich and the number of miles from Salt Lake City.[1]

The companies traveled together to what is now Minersville, from this point Rich, the missionaries and a pack company decided to detour and go to California by a shorter route, the Walker Cutoff. After several days of traveling westward their guide, a Mr. Smith, who captained the pack company, failed to find the trail and they wandered aimlessly about the western desert. Smith later confessed that he had never traveled the Walker Cutoff so Rich and the missionaries left his party. His company continued west and perhaps perished as they were not heard of later. Rich and the missionaries turned to the south and eventually found the Muddy River which they followed to its juntion

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[1] Evans, John Henry, Charles C. Rich, 181.

with the Spanish Trail where they luckily met Captain Hunt and twelve others.[1] Hunt had separated from the large company of gold seekers when they persisted in taking what they supposed was a short cut westward to the gold fields. This large group became lost but most of them reached California after harrowing experiences in Death Valley.[2] Hunt, with Rich and the missionaries reached the Chino ranch on December 7, 1849, sixty-five days after leaving Salt Lake City. All were worn and exhausted from the trip and for some time they rested at Colonel Williams' residence. Rich stayed there for about a month.

Other wagon trains traveled approximately Hunt's route to Southern California during the winter of 1849 and 1850. Captain Howard Egan, who had previously led a company of Mormon pioneers across the plains to Utah, and a party of forty-nine other Mormons arrived at Chino shortly after the Hunt-Rich party. They made the trip from Fort Utah in twenty-five days. Egan kept a detailed account of the trip, recording the distance between watering places, feed and suitable camp grounds. He numbered these from one to eighty-nine. His journal was published and became helpful as a travelers guide.

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[1] Ibid., 192.

[2] See Manly, William Lewis, Death Valley in '49, 98.

The Pomeroy party, another emigrant train that left Salt Lake for Southern California in November, experienced great tribulations on the way. So many of their animals became exhausted or were run off by Indians that they were forced to leave nineteen of their twenty wagons at the Muddy River. They reached San Bernardino in February 1850. On the way they rescued nine of the party who had become lost after leaving Hunt. It was with this Pomeroy party that David Seely made his first trip to San Bernardino gaining knowledge and experience that qualified him for service as a captain in the Mormon migration of 1851. Seely stayed for two weeks at the San Bernardino ranch with the Lugo brothers and became rather well acquainted, which proved helpful in later dealings.

In these wagon trains about eight-five Mormons traveled the southern route to California. As was mentioned, they stayed at the San Bernardino or Chino ranches for several weeks recuperating. Some were en route to the Pacific Islands as missionaries. Some were going to the mines to seek gold for the Church and others were to study various areas in California for a suitable site for a permanent settlement.

Apostle Rich undoubtedly discussed the matter of purchasing the Chino ranch with Williams, who made him a definite offer. Henry W. Bigler, a member of the Rich party,

quoted Williams as offering to sell his ranch for two hundred thousand dollars, stock and all.[1] Prices for flour and beef were very impressive in the gold fields along the Sierra and some of the Mormons with Rich, felt that the offer was a real opportunity. They stated that at prevailing prices the cattle would sell for enough to pay for the ranch within six months.[2]

However, no arrangement for acquisition of the property was made. Rich, perhaps, at the time was not authorized to conclude any such deal. But he purchased some wagons, oxen and a supply of wheat, all on credit, and in the latter part of January, 1850, his company proceeded up the Coast.[3] He was, however, much interested in the possibilities the San Bernardino Valley offered. He met Apostle Amasa M. Lyman near San Francisco in April and they toured much of the gold mining region.

The colonization plan of the Mormon leaders, previously mentioned, included Southern California, a goodly strip of which was included in the provisions for the State of Deseret. But the designation of the San Bernardino Valley as the place for a colony seems to have been made

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[1] Beattie, op. cit., 130.

[2] Evans, op. cit., 201.

[3] Ibid., 194.

after Rich and several others returned to Salt Lake from California. The decision came largely as a result of the recommendations of men who had been there, and from information given in two letters received late in 1850. In the one letter Isaac Williams submitted an offer to sell the entire property he was administering at Chino with the exceptions of one third interest in any coal that might be developed in the land he had obtained from Yorba, and the two and one half leagues that had been deeded to his daughters by Antonio Marie. The price asked was one hundred fifty thousand dollars. The other letter was written to Brigham Young, on the suggestion of Jefferson Hunt, by Robert Cluff, a former officer of the Mormon Battalion, who had been working, for sometime, on the Chino Ranch.[1] He said that between eight and ten thousand cattle bore Williams' brand. The number of calves branded that year would reach two thousand five hundred and there were five hundred horses on the ranch. Cluff closed his letter by stating: "This property contains, in my opinion, advantages for a settlement of our people which no other does in California. Here is soil, climate, and water to raise crops of any kind

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[1] Several Battalion members remained in Southern California Chrisman, Hunter, and Cluff became leading citizens of San Bernardino after the Mormon migration. See, Ingersoll, Luther A., Century Annals of San Bernardino County, passim.; also, Beattie, op. cit., 196.

produced in any country in the world, and in great abundance. It is situated within forty miles of the port of San Pedro and one hundred and twenty from San Diego, one of the best harbors on the coast of California, immediately on the road from San Francisco to Sonora. With respects to the proposition made for the sale of the property, I think it is liberal. There is cattle enough and more than enough to pay the amount in two months if desposed of to advantage."[1]

On October 27, 1850, Brigham Young mentioned that the church authorities desired to expand their colonization further to the south. "The field of labor will be Little Salt Lake (Parowan) and we want to plant a colony there. ---We want to plant colonies from here to the Pacific Ocean; a few will go onto the neighborhood of Cajon Pass and make a settlement there."[2]

Shortly after Charles C. Rich returned from California, he and Lyman were appointed to take a company to Southern California, preside over the church in that land and establish a stronghold for the gathering of the Saints.[3] A call for volunteers to accompany the two apostles was made

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[1] Letter is on file in the Church Historian's Office.

[2] Journal History, October 27, 1850.

[3] Ibid., February 23, 1850.

and a large number responded. Many of the group personally knew of Southern California having been there as members of the Mormon Battalion or as members of the wagon trains of '49.

The purpose of the settlement is clearly given in the "Fifth General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church to the Saints scattered throughout the World," a part of which reads: "Elders Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich left this place early in March, with others, the camp amounting to about 150 wagons, (some of which were to stop and locate themselves in Iron County), for the purpose of establishing a settlement in the southern part of California, at no great distance from San Diego, and near Williams' ranch and the Cahone pass, between which and Iron County we design to establish settlements as speedily as possible, which Elder Lyman will commence on his route, if practicable, so as to have a continued line of stations and places of refreshment between this point and the Pacific which route is passable the winter months. ---It is wisdom for English Saints to cease emigration by the usual route through the States, and up the Missouri river, and remain where they are till they hear from us again, as it is our design to open up a way across the interior of the continent, by Panama, Tehuantepec, or some of the interior routes, and land them at San Diego and thus save three thousand miles of inland

navigation through a most sickly climate and country. The Presidency in Liverpool will open every desirable correspondence in relation to various routes, and rates and convenience, from Liverpool to San Diego, and make an early report, so that if possible the necessary preparations may be made for next fall's emigration.

"Should the way be open for any of the scattered Saints (except such as we have before counselled to tarry where they are) to ship direct to San Diego in California, they will do so, and from thence they can work their passage to the settlement about to be formed by Bros. Lyman and Rich in the vicinity, and from thence to this place,"[1]

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[1] "Fifth General Epistle of the Presidency," in the Millennial Star, Vol. XIII, 214.

CHAPTER III

THE TREK TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND THE PURCHASE OF SAN BERNARDINO

The Rich-Lyman Company left Salt Lake City on the 4th day of March 1851 and traveled as far as Payson where they made final preparations for the journey. Brigham Young visited them on the 24th and saw that they were organized and ready for their departure. There were 150 wagons, 588 oxen, 366 cows, 21 young stock, 107 horses and 52 mules, and 437 men, women, and children. "Every state in the Union, except two, were represented, including Upper and Lower Canada, England, Wales, Ireland, Australia, New Brunswick, Sweden, and France."[1]

Apostle Parley P. Pratt accompanied the party. He was in charge of a group of missionaries en route to the South Sea Islands. It is from the journals of Pratt and Rich that a record of the trip is furnished.

The party, following the organization devised by Brigham Young in 1847 for the journey from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake, was divided into companies of fifty wagons, each fifty having a captain; these companies were divided into parties of ten wagons, each ten with its commander. There

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[1] Evans, John Henry, op. cit., 204.

was also a captain of hundreds, who acted as a general overseer. Andrew Lytle was the "captain of hundreds," and David Seely and Joseph Mathews "captain of fifties." Parley P. Pratt, Jefferson Hunt, Samuel Rolfe, and Wellington Seely were "captains of tens," and Amasa M. Lyman was "captain of two tens." Rich's two wagons were in Wellington Seely's ten. Parley P. Pratt mentioned David Seely as being "commander of our fifty."

They moved in two sections, probably to lessen congestion, until they reached Parowan, the last of the Mormon settlements on the southern journey. Here they made repairs and adopted plans for crossing the desert. They traveled the rest of the way in the smaller units to avoid drawing too heavily at one time on the desert springs. The last company left Parowan April 21, 1851. The country beyond this settlement was difficult to traverse. It was largely a worthless desert, and consisted of mountains of naked rock and barren plains. These, however, were occasionally broken by small streams, along the banks of which was some pasturage for the cattle. On leaving the canyon of the Virgin River they were forced to build a new road over a very steep bluff. The old one was nearly impassable. After this they had to draw their wagons with double teams for more than a mile. Though this was an improvement over the old road it remained the terror of the route for years.

At the Muddy River (Moapa) they found a few Indians who eked out an existence by raising a little wheat and corn with the aid of irrigation. The stretch between the Muddy and Las Vegas springs was a fifty-three mile jaunt with no water for the animals. They reached these springs on May 13 and were delighted on finding an abundance of water and grass. Comments were made that here would be an ideal place for a settlement of some two hundred families. Leaving this site the company proceeded into the desert region beyond, which took nearly a month to travel. On reaching the Mojave River Pratt and the missionaries pushed ahead to the Chino ranch and stayed at the home of Charles Crisman, a Mormon, who later joined the settlement at San Bernardino. The first "fifty," commanded by David Seely, followed the steam up to the vicinity of the present town site of Helendale where they camped and waited until Amasa M. Lyman, Jefferson Hunt, and Joseph Mathews, who were traveling with the rear company, could join them. These three and Charles C. Rich then rode ahead of the wagon train to a sycamore grove near the south end of Cajon Pass, which they reached June 9, 1851. This grove was located about a mile from the present railroad station of Devore and had evidently been agreed upon, beforehand, as the general camping place until a permanent settlement could be secured. Captain Seely's company arrived at the grove June 11, 1851.

"A memorable day in valley history," says Beattie.

Rich, Lyman, Hunt, and Mathews did not stay at the grove but the day after their arrival they proceeded to Isaac Williams' Chino Ranch, and stopped at Crisman's home. They made Williams a proposition for the place. This offer he turned down. He had been ill when he made the earlier offer to sell but had recovered, somewhat, and was disposed to continue his enterprise. The Mormon leaders returned to the sycamore grove disappointed. They had expected their offer to be accepted. This change of heart on the part of Williams forced them to look elsewhere.

They then set out to examine the country to the south and east of the pass and confer with J.D. Hunter, a former officer in the Battalion, who after his discharge, was appointed United States Indian agent in Southern California. Hunter was no longer the Indian agent but his knowledge of the country would be very useful. He was living on a ranch near the Indian settlement. Rich, Lyman and party called upon the Lugos at San Bernardino. They spent a night with Isaac Stover, the only American on the Agua Mausa settlement. He was sympathetic with the newcomers and later sent a wagon load of supplies, as a gift, to Sycamore Grove. On their return from conferring with Hunter the party again stopped at the San Bernardino Ranch and camped for the night. They were back at the sycamore

grove on June 20. That day Captain Hunt's "ten," part of the rear company arrived completing the migration into the San Bernardino Valley.

The Los Angeles "Star" reported the arrival of the Mormons as follows: "We learn that one hundred-fifty Mormon families are at Cajon pass, sixty miles south of the city, on their way here from Deseret. These families, it is said, intend to settle in this valley, and to make it their permanent homes.-----if it be true that Mormons are coming in such numbers to settle among us, we shall, as good and industrious citizens extend them a friendly welcome."[1]

Early in July the Star stated further, "We learn that they (the Mormons) are negotiating for the purchase of the Rancho of San Bernardino from the family of Don Antonio Maria Lugo.----This is the site of the old Mission of San Bernardino.----Here probably this interesting people will make their first establishment on the shores of the Pacific."[2]

The selection of land and the arrangement for its purchase consumed the remainder of the summer. Lyman, Rich, and Richard Hopkins, (church clerk), left the camp at the

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[1] Los Angeles Star June 11, 1851, in Millennial Star, Vol. XIII, 254.

[2] Ibid., July 5, 1851.

sycamore grove, in July, for the northern part of California to raise funds among the Saints living in the gold mining region. They were evidently very successful for Rich and Hopkins returned with some eight thousand dollars worth of provision as well as considerable cash for a down payment on the property they had decided to purchase. Lyman remained in San Francisco to complete the arrangement for financing the purchase. The negotiations with the Lugos were concluded on September 22 and Rich and Lyman, with other leading brethren of the colony, took over the San Bernardino ranch, for the sum of $77,500.

In the purchase of the ranch these leaders were personally responsible for the transaction and did not act as agents for the Church. While President Young did authorize them to make the settlement and purchase property it appears that the Church was not backing the enterprise financially. The deeds to the property, when they were obtained were made out to Lyman and Rich.[1] In this capacity as individuals they gave a mortgage on the ranch to Samuel Moss Jr. of San Francisco. It was also they who disposed of the land in parcels to the colonists. Lyman, Rich and Company, as a business enterprise, also, operated a general merchandise store in San Bernardino, built saw mills,

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[1] Copies of the deed and mortgages appear in the Records of the San Bernardino Mission, California. (MS.)

installed harvesting and milling machines, contracted to perform services for outside parties, and in general had charge of the settlement.

At the time of the purchase by the Mormons, the general supposition was that the San Bernardino ranch contained the entire tract of land that the Lugos had been administering. This was at least eighty thousand acres. Lyman and Rich wrote Apostle Richards, "On the 22nd of September we concluded the purchase of a tract of land, known as the Rancho of San Bernardino, containing some eighty or one hundred thousand acres of land."[1] The Los Angeles Star, commenting on the purchase mentioned that San Bernardino contained "80,000 acres of excellent land." The colonists were subject to a disillusionment, for in seeking confirmation of their grant the attorneys for the Lugos filed with the United States Land Commission a petition for only eight leagues.[2] The commission, about one year and a half after the purchase, recognized the grant to the extent of eight leagues. This gave the colony less than one half the

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[1] Lyman and Rich to Richards, December 10, 1851, in Millennial Star XIV, 75.

[2] The papers connected with the grant to the Lugos were, of course, in Spanish and were perhaps not fully understood by the Mormons. They mentioned that the grantees were to select eight leagues from a larger area. This the Lugos had not done, but had pastured their cattle over the entire valley. Beattie, op. cit., 183.

land they supposed they were buying.[1] Any other land above the eight leagues became public land and persons locating there were under no obligations to make purchases from the Mormons. This led to considerable difficulty later as the exact location of all the eight leagues was not decided for some time.

Shortly after the acquisition of the land, a square mile was selected for the town site, which was named San Bernardino in deference to the Lugo grant. The region around the old mission buildings came to be known as Old San Bernardino, or simply the Mission District. We are indebted to Amasa M. Lyman for the following: "The site of our city resembles very much the site of Salt Lake City; in the rear we have venerable snow capped Sierra-Nevada towering to the clouds, at the foot of which gush forth innumerable streams whose crystal waters can be dispensed throughout the city, thereby affording to our citizens an abundant supply of the delicious beverage. The site is upon an incline plane at the foot of which either way extends a dense growth of willows, cotton-wood, and sycamore, which affords an abundant supply of timber for fuel and fencing purposes.

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[1] The official survey of the San Bernardino Ranch made under the orders of the United States Surveyor General, by John La Croze Deputy Surveyor, in June 1857, contained an area of 35,509.41 acres. Records of San Bernardino Mission, California, front page.

On the left breaks forth a bold mountain stream called the Rio de San Bernardino, which affords an abundant supply of water for irrigation as well as excellent sites for mills and manufactories."[1] He, also, stated that they were situated about 100 miles from San Diego some seventy miles from the port of San Pedro, and about twelve miles down the valley from Cajon Pass.

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[1] Lyman to Richards in Millennial Star, Vol. XIV, 491.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD FORT

The prospects of a permanent settlement with so large a population near the Cajon Pass brought a large degree of security to the ranch owners between Los Angeles and San Bernardino. They had, however, scarcely relaxed their fears of Indian raids by way of the pass when the threat of danger appeared from a new quarter. This was an uprising fomented by Antonio Garra, an independent chief at the Walker's Ranch who commanded a band of renegade Indians from near by and even far distant tribes. He was attempting to unite the Indians from the Colorado River to the San Joaquin Valley and crush all the Americans between San Diego and San Bernardino.

The able bodied men in San Diego County were enrolled in a defense corps. A large company of volunteers was organized in Los Angeles County and stationed at the Chino Ranch. The Mormons at San Bernardino sent their quota. A few log houses had been constructed by the settlers on land assigned to them but this Indian trouble changed the building plans of the Mormons and they moved with their characteristic energy to protect themselves. Some had migrated from Kentucky and were acquainted with the methods used by their ancestors in defense against

Indian attacks. A mass meeting was held at which they decided to erect a stockade large enough to accomodate every family in the colony. Work commenced immediatley. Says Hopkins: "It was decided that the brethren would work on the fortification until midnight." To stimulate a little competitive spirit and push the work on the fort each individual was given a portion of the stockade to finish. They even dispensed with Sunday meeting to continue the work. The records for November 22 read, "Most of the brethren have finished their houses and anticipate again the comforts of a house and a home, having been deprived of both for the past eight months."[1] And on December 15, they continue, "Our fort is at last completed and we are now well fortified and under martial law."

This stockade enclosure covered an area about seven hundred by three hundred feet. The walls on the east side and the two ends were made from fifteen foot cottonwood and willow logs split in half and set three feet in the ground side by side. The west side was made up of houses which had been built before the necessity of a fort had been realized, and which had been moved and placed with their outside walls adjoining so as to form a tight wall. At each corner the stockade projected outward some eight

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[1] Hopkins, Richard R., Journal of the San Bernardino Branch, dates given.

feet forming a sort of a bastion with loopholes for the purpose of cross firing along the sides and ends should be enemy elude the direct fire from the walls. The principle entrance was located on the east side and there were also gates on the north end and west side.

Small one story log and adobe houses were built inside in long rows parallel with the stockade. A pavillion was erected in the northwest corner and used for meeting and school purposes. To the south of the pavillion was a small house used as a business office and still further south was a three roomed store-house. In the northeast and southwest corners were a few scattered houses, as there was not room to place all the houses in line. Many wagon beds with canvas covers were taken from the gears and placed in convenient proximity to the houses for sleeping apartments.

A stream of water was brought into the fort for domestic purposes, from Gardner's Spring or Lyche Creek.

Rolfe says, "More than a hundred families occupied the fort, together with a number of men without families--- There were at least one hundred fifty and probably more, able bodied men capable of performing good service in repelling attack. The military organization was very simple, it being merely a division into three companies with their respective captain, and without other officers. Jefferson

Hunt, as senior captain, was in command of the whole. Vigilant guard was kept at night. Uncle Grief,[1] a colored man, had a large tin horn about six feet long, which he used to make music for his own amusement. He acted as bugler and blew his horn to assemble the men, or for other purposes, according to different signals which had been adopted and were understood by all. Many times were all hands called out by the sound of Uncle Grief's horn. Every one knew something about fire arms. With a few exceptions all were tolerably expert in this line and a number of the first settlers were "crack shots." Most of the men were well supplied with arms of their own, but to supply any deficiency a lot of muskets and ammunition was sent to them from the small garrison of regular soldiers then stationed at Chino."[2]

While the stockade was still under construction a letter was received from Mr. Weaver of San Gorgonio stating that several of the leaders of the powerful Cahuilla nation had declined to join Garra. Among the chieftains who refused to collaborate in the uprising was Juan Antonio, who had been maintained by the Lugo's on their

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[1] Uncle Grief was one with a number of negro slaves who were brought to San Bernardino. He belonged to Bishop Crosby, a Mormon convert from the Southern States.

[2] Ingersoll, op. cit., 132.

ranch at Apolitan and who was still there with his warriors. Later Juan Antonio and several of his men were able to take Garra a prisoner. They turned him over to General Bean, the commander of the militia in Southern California. He was then taken to San Diego and tried by a court-martial. Convicted of treason, murder, and robbery, he was shot. His death ended the most serious Indian threat that faced California after the American occupation. Shortly after the capture of Garra, General Bean distributed valuable presents to Juan Antonio and entered into a treaty of peace, amity and friendship with him, in which he pledged the people of the State of California to protect and maintain Juan Antonio in the possession and occupation of his lands, property and effects. Later Dr. O.M. Wazencraft, a member of the Indian commission concluded a treaty between the United States and the Cahuilla nation granting the Indians a tract of land forty miles long by thirty miles wide between Warner's ranch and San Gorgonio.

The Mormons continued, nevertheless, to live in the stockade for more than a year. They had homes there and other things were more pressing than the erecting of new ones outside. In spite of the necessity for men to guard the settlement against possible Indian attack activity for the making of San Bernardino a permanent settlement was not neglected.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

A new epoch of industrial life began in the San Bernardino Valley. In December, 1851, the Mormon colonists surveyed and laid out their first big field, which contained nearly two thousand acres. They enclosed three sides of it with either a pole fence or a deep ditch. The side toward the mountains was left open. Plowing began immediately after the completion of the survey and during January a great deal of wheat and other grain was sown. In addition to this a three-hundred-acre field for summer crops was surveyed and a tract for a vineyard was laid out. David Seely obtained several thousand cuttings from the San Jose ranch and by June a "youthful vineyard of forty acres" had been set out.

Charles C. Rich headed a small party to lay out a road to San Diego and thus establish direct communication between the Mormon outpost and the port of entry for Saints coming by sea. The task seems to have been an easy one for Lyman says, "They found a very good wagon road with good feed and water all the way."[1]

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[1] Lyman to Richards, June 25, 1852, in the Millennial Star, XIV, 491.

The sale of flour was expected to bring substantial returns to the settlers. In March 1852, Lyman and Rich with George Sirrine, a millwright, selected a site for a gristmill. The location was within the area selected for the town-site. The mill wheels were to be turned by water power, the water was diverted from Warm Canyon. Work on the foundation of the mill commenced in May. By the last of July the mill was completed. The water wheel was hung, a mill race dug and a dam built across Warm Canyon Creek. The first wheat was ground on July 31. Although the mill had two runs of stones only one was used for flouring purposes during the first season. On the other run of stones a circular saw was substituted which helped to supply lumber for the settlement until other saw-mills were established in the mountain area.

The lumber used during the first season the Mormons were in San Bernardino was obtained largely from the willow, sycamore, alder and cottonwood trees that grew in the valley. The need for better building material was soon felt. In April a company of men returned from an exploring trip to the mountains and reported that excellent timber, consisting of pine, hemlock and redwood, was found near the summit. This was about nine miles from the settlement and was accessable through Hot Spring Canyon. A public road was constructed to this timber area during the month of May. About

one thousand hours of labor was the cost of this construction. Says Lyman, in June, "One of our citizens has procured an engine and machinery and contemplates the speedy erection of a steam saw-mill, which should be in operation on the mountains in ten days."[1] This undoubtedly referred to the mill set up by Charles Crisman in Mill Creek Canyon which was moved to the mountains in Waterman Canyon and later into the valley on Lytle Creek. It was a small affair and was sometimes spoken of as Crisman's portable saw mill to distinguish it from a larger one he set up later.

Six saw mills were set up in the San Bernardino mountains by the fall of 1854. David Seely and his brother Wellington erected the first important one on the mountain tops during the summer of 1853. It was located on the lower end of Seely Flat and was run by water power. The first lumber from this mill was brought into San Bernardino in April 1854. This mill was at a great disadvantage, due to water shortage, when compared with the mills operated in Mill Creek Canyon. It did, however, produce some very fine finishing lumber from the sugar pines that were more abundant on Seely Flat than elsewhere. Although its daily capacity was not greater than 2500 feet and its operating season less than half the year, it was operated every season

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[1] Idem.

until 1862 when it was washed away by a great storm. Wellington Seely returned to Utah in 1857 and David Seely ran the mill alone until the flood.

Jacob and Glaser erected a saw-mill above the Seely mill in the spring of 1854. This enterprise, however, did not prove profitable to the owners.

The third saw-mill on the mountains was built by Andrew J. Cox on Shingle Creek, a small stream flowing into the west fork of Seely Creek. This mill was later sold to Jackson, Noyce, and Company. It was destroyed by fire in 1858.

Charles Crisman purchased a thirty horse power engine and moved it to the mountain area installing it at Houston Flat. This was known as "Crisman's steam saw-mill." It was a great imrpovement over the Seely mill as it was not dependent upon running water and could be operated during a greater part of the season. It could, also, cut more timber per day. Crisman sold half interest in this mill to Jefferson Hunt for $6,000. Hunt made further development on the mill and eventually acquired the other half interest. He purchased a boiler in San Diego from a British vessel that had been wrecked there, dismantled it and hauled it to the mountains. This addition greatly increased the mill capacity. Hunt sold the mill to John Roland in 1857 when he answered the call for the Mormons to return

to Salt Lake.

In May 1853 Lyman, Rich and Thorpe began work on a saw mill in Mill Creek Canyon. A group of men delegated to open a road to the site reported that such a road as had been considered was impracticable. Work continued on the mill, nevertheless, the owners stating that a road could be made when needed. The mill was put into operation in August and a road of some sort must have been worked out for Joseph Mathews delivered a load of lumber, from this mill to Lyman in San Bernardino. This mill was later called "the Mormon Mill" and was run by water power. Says Stout, "Lyman and Rich have a most excellent saw-mill here, in Mill Creek Canyon, which would clear perhaps fifty dollars per day if well attended to."[1]

Bingham, Moss, and Joice built a saw-mill, known as the "Salamander," on Houston Creek. This was the fifth mill in the mountain area. Joice and Moss later sold out to Lyman, Rich and Company and Bishop Crosby acquired Bingham's interest. The mill was destroyed by fire in December 1855. The loss to the owners was estimated at $20,000. The mill was rebuilt, however with the aid of the community.[2]

The saw-mills were of great economic importance to

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[1] Stout, Hosea, Journal, Vol. 6, 132.

[2] The Records of the San Bernardino Mission, California, December 10, 1855.

the settlers of the Mormon outpost. They furnished an ample supply of lumber, both rough and finish , for them to construct a city of permanent homes. Much lumber was, also, disposed of to others in the surrounding communities. Hyrum Williams, brother to Isaac Williams, of Chino, made a contract with Lyman, in December 1853 for $2,000 worth of lumber. The better grade when hauled to Los Angeles usually sold for cash, varying from fifty to eighty dollars per thousand feet. There was, also, a large demand on the part of the ranchers for cedar logs to be used for fencing.

The lumber industry which developed from these sawmills met very adequately the expectations of Lyman, who had stated earlier that, "We hope to be able to supply this part of the state with the best quality of lumber at less than gold mine prices."[1]

At a harvest feast held September 4, 1852, excellent samples of the products of the soil were displayed. The harvest of the first year had been rather abundant. The wheat crop was especially good and had required many months of toil to cut and thresh. Two home made machines were put into operation during the summer, and by the time of the harvest feast Lyman and Rich had installed a third one, to be run by water power. The work of threshing was still

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[1] Millennial Star, XIV, 491.

in progress on November 21. The records of that date show that no meeting was held as the men were busy taking care of a large amount of barley and wheat that had been caught by rain on the threshing floor.

The flouring-mill, which commenced operation in July, using only one run of stones, did not prove large enough to grind the wheat produced that year. Thomas says, "(The mill) does not meet the expectation of the community in grinding; it will not be able to grind all the grain by harvest, there has not been enough ground to pay off the debts----. Flour is dull at this time in Los Angeles at $14--- and two or three loads will glut the market."[1] There was a demand, however, for flour up the country, (in the region of the gold mines) but the mill was kept busy much of the time meeting the needs of the community's increasing population. Only about 8,000 pounds of flour was shipped to the northern part of the state the first season. During the second season greater facilities were available for the grinding of wheat after Crisman erected his saw-mill in the mountains. The grist mill was remodeled and the set of stones that had been used for sawing purposes was converted for flouring.

In May 1853 Lyman and Rich located a mill site at

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[1] Thomas, Daniel M. to Hopkins in Deseret News, Mar. 19, 1853.

the mouth of Twin Creek Canyon; later a flour-mill was erected. Says Lyman, "We purchased two runs of burrs for our flouring-mill, which we expect to put in order immediately for the flouring of our present crop. We sell flour at six and a half cents per pound."[1]

Additional land was put under cultivation during the second season. A field of nearly one thousand acres was added to the big field, and between six and seven hundred acres were added to the field at San Bernardino House (the mission building at Old San Bernardino), and, also, another two hundred acres to the Bishop's Garden, near the stockade. The summer field was, also, put into use, but even with these increases, Thomas says, "people are still begging for more land."

The second season brought into use several reaping machines. The first one commenced operation on May 28 and worked very well. These displaced the sickles and cradles, and shortened considerably the labor of the harvest. Grain was the staple crop of the settlers during the entire time they were in the Valley. In 1854 the wheat raised in the common fields amounted to nearly four thousand acres and the average yield was thirty-two bushels per acre. In 1856 they seeded some five thousand acres and in 1857, the year the

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[1] Lyman to Brigham Young, July 30, 1853, Journal History.

Mormons left the Valley, they had six thousand acres of wheat and barley, and two thousand acres of corn under cultivation.

Says the correspondent for the Western Standard, "The amount of grain raised is: wheat 30,000 bushels, barley 15,000 bushels, corn 7,000 bushels and some 2,000 bushels of oats. The potato crop being almost an entire failure on the account of the drouth. Garden vegetables are abundant otherwise. The amount of butter, cheese, and eggs produced and sold to merchants in San Bernardino is as follows: butter 1,700 lbs., cheese 3,000 lbs., eggs 13,000 dozen. This is considered not more than one half the amount of these articles produced.[1]

The survey of the town-site for the City of San Bernardino commenced in March 1852. On the eighth Rich and Lyman, with the aid of Mr. Hess, who had been hired to survey the ranch, "planted the center stake of the city on Temple Block."[2] This was later laid out as the public square and became known as Pioneer Park. The stake was on Salt Lake Street, later E Street, midway between Fifth and Sixth Street. Henry G. Sherwood, San Bernardino County's Surveyor,

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[1] Record of San Bernardino Mission, entry December 27, 1856, contains clippings from the Western Standard, a newspaper published in San Francisco by G.Q. Cannon.

[2] Journal History, March 8, 1852.

did most of the early surveying of the city. In 1853 he staked out the public square, located the streets and began the dividing of the blocks into lots. Alvin Stoddard finished this work during the early part of 1854. The town-site was two miles square. The streets were laid out at right angles to each other forming rectangular blocks. These blocks were divided into lots of one, five, ten, twenty, and forty acres. The blocks in the center of the town-site were divided into the one acre lots. Those more remote into the larger areas. Most of the forty acre areas were actually outside the town-site.[1]

The survey made it possible for families to leave the stockade and begin homes of their own. A period of great activity in building followed. Lyman stated that there was a scarcity of labor in the fall of 1853 due to the building program. In the spring of 1854 the Lyman- Rich and Hopkins Co., erected a new office building and store. A new school building, on Fourth Street, was commenced. A store house one hundred feet long by thirty feet was erected in connection with the grist-mill. In April, Lyman started the construction of a new residence, which when finished was the most imposing in the colony. It was a long two-story building, one hundred and twenty-five feet long by fifty

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[1] Record of San Bernardino Mission, California, Dec. 27, 1856.

feet wide. The walls of the lower story were built of adobe. The lumber came partly from the saw mills in the mountains and partly from the Mill Creek establishment of Lyman and Rich. A new post office building was completed in April and the postal department moved from its temporary quarters in the old fort, into its new home. Construction during 1854 brought an end to the temporary appearance of the colony at San Bernardino. Says Benjamin Hayes, Judge of the district, from Los Angeles, who visited the colony in 1854, "At least one hundred new buildings have been put up in the last four months, principally adobe - some of them very fine. ---We noticed particulary the mansion of President Lyman and the new hotel of our excellent host, Bishop Crosby.---Very soon they expect to commence building of brick. Already about two-thirds of the city lots have been sold. The city is on a plain, and when built up will make a beautiful appearance, with the picturesque scenery that surrounds it."[1] Judge Hayes estimated the population of the city at 1200.

Building and expansion continued during the next two years. In 1856 several new stores were erected and old ones improved. The number of persons engaged in trade nearly doubled. Individual purchases of land were given

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[1] Beattie, op. cit., 225.

warranty deeds which released them from all liabilities of the mortgage still on the Lyman- Rich purchase. A large share of the 35,500 acres purchased was under cultivation either by individual owners or as a part of the communal farms. The population had increased to about three thousand. Says Chandless, "The place is built in orthodox Mormon fashion, with detached houses and rectangular streets; but there is no earthen wall around it." Ingersoll described San Bernardino, in 1856, as a substantial town, with two adobe school buildings, the council house, several substantial store buildings, a flour mill, three saw mills, irrigation ditches and good roads.

The San Bernardino colony was important in supplying lumber to the entire valley and the Los Angeles region as well. Grain and flour were sold through out Southern California. Some flour was freighted as far north as the gold mining region. It was not until 1855 that trade between this outpost and the mother colony in Salt Lake City became important enough to begin on a commercial scale. Henry Rollins, a member of the firm of Lyman, Rich, and Company, left San Bernardino, on April 15, with sixteen freight wagons enroute to Salt Lake City. The Deseret News announced his arrival in Salt Lake on May 24, "with a handsome assortment of groceries and dry goods for the local market." William Sanford, representing the Alexander-

Banning firm of Los Angeles conducted a train of fifteen freight wagons into Salt Lake City. He left San Bernardino twelve days after Rollins and hauled thirty tons of merchandise valued at $2,000. He carried a letter of introduction from Lyman to persons in Salt Lake.

Alden Jackson and Walter Dodge, residents of San Bernardino, used the mail to ship samples of their products to Salt Lake City. In 1856 they sent a large quantity of apple, pear, cherry, plum, apricot, rose, and currant cuttings. They mailed seeds of the yellow timber locust, the India pie plant, watermelon, orange, and a large variety of flowers. The shipments were rather important and seem to have been frequent. The minutes of the Deseret Agriculture and Manufacturing Society for April 24, 1857 contain the following: "President Hunter remarked that the first item of business before the meeting would be an acknowledgement of Mr. Jacksons' liberality in forwarding from San Bernardino the splended assortment of choice cuttings received by the last mail from California."[1]

When the Mormon pioneers settled in the San Bernardino Valley they had very little money. Their entire possessions were invested in the equipment necessary to bring them across the desert waste and set up homes in a new land.

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[1] Deseret News, 6:61 (April 24,1857).

The lack of money made it necessary that they borrow or do most of their business transactions by credit. An entry in the local record, by Hopkins, on February 13, 1852, described an evening meeting for the purpose of discussing the practicability of selling surplus stock to drovers then in the community and paying off Lyman, Rich and others the debts they had incurred while they were consumers and not producers. It was resolved that, "we sell all, or as much of our stock, as would liquidate our debt." Many yoke of oxen and several mules were sold at good prices and the settlers purchased wild horses very cheaply to replace them.

The purchase of the San Bernardino Ranch from the Lugos for $77,500 was an enormous undertaking when one considers the position of these pioneer leaders. The down payment of some $9,000 made in September was largely obtained from subscription and loans from Mormons in the San Francisco gold mining region. By March 1852 an additional $16,000 had been raised and a second payment was made. The remaining $52,500 was borrowed from Bayerque and Moss of San Francisco, payable in two years. A mortgage on the entire ranch was given as security.

Prices, which were somewhat inflated at the time of the purchase, soon began to decline. The payment of these financial obligations proved to be much more difficult than the leaders had anticipated and plagued them during their

entire stay in the valley. The sale of land to private individuals at a reasonable rate would have easily liquidated the entire indebtedness if the ranch had contained the entire area the Lugos had been using. But the first blow to the Mormons' financial plans came when, six months after the purchase, the attorneys for the Lugos asked the United States Land Commission to substantiate their Mexican Land Grant to the extent of only eight leagues, or less than one half the area they had been pasturing...About one and one half years later the Commission recognized the grant to the extent of the eight leagues. However the exact location of a part of the grant was not decided upon until a somewhat later date. This delay prevented rapid sale of the land outside the townsite, where warranty deeds could not be given. Lands outside the grant were public and squatters could take possession without making payment to the church leaders. Several lawsuits were later instituted to eject squatters from land that came within the grant as it was finally located.

The unpaid balance on the mortgage became due in 1854. In a letter to Brigham Young, dated January 10, Lyman and Rich wrote, "We are making every exertion to meet our March payment, which we think we shall be able to do with what means we can raise here and may be able to influence

abroad."[1] Collections, however, in San Bernardino amounted to only about $8,000, and little was obtained elsewhere. Lyman and others, who had gone to San Francisco to obtain aid, were able to secure an extension of time on the mortgage and avert foreclosure. The interest rate was extremely high so a strenuous effort was made during the remainder of 1854 to pay off the indebtedness. Several plans were devised. One plan involved the building of some thirty miles of fence for Isaac Williams on the Chino Ranch for a contracted sum of $36,000. Something went wrong with this plan as the Mormon leaders were unable to fulfill their part of the contract. A second method of raising money was by getting subscriptions of livestock to be sold, from the residence of San Bernardino. The report on this showed cash and available property amounting to $23,000. This entire amount was not actually paid. The third plan: "A special meeting was held in the evening at which the brethren agreed to send out a party to the gold diggings with a view to raise means to lift the indebtedness of the ranch."[2] David Seely and Theodore Turley were in charge of the party. The volunteers were furnished provisions and a small daily salary. After a few months this group returned with little

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[1] Journal History, Jan. 10, 1854.

[2] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1854.

more than enough gold to pay their expenses. Of the three plans only the subscription plan aided materially in meeting the payments. However, the high interest, thirty per cent per annum, kept the debt from decreasing appreciably.

Later in the year Lyman and Rich gave a new note for $35,000 secured by a new mortgage, with interest at three per cent per month payable in advance and to be compounded if not paid when due. Renewed efforts were made in 1855 to raise the amount and free the ranch from debt. The church leaders in Utah came to the rescue and issued a circular, "to the Presidents, Bishops and their councilors and the brethren in the various wards throughout the valleys of the mountains." This circular announced that the brethren located in San Bernardino, California had purchased a ranch when times were considerable good and had agreed to pay $75,000; some $52,000 of which had been paid, including interest, leaving a balance of $38,000 that must be paid the ensuing season or they would lose the place together with what they had paid. "The brethren are called upon to subscribe money or stock to raise means to liquidate the obligation, as the Presidency, in behalf of the church had assumed the liability."[1]

In July, Amassa Lyman and a group of about seventy-five

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[1] History of Brigham Young, 1855: 23.

men were sent out to the San Francisco and Sacramento area to preach and try to raise the necessary means to liquidate the mortgage. At a meeting held in December 1855, President Rich announced that Brother Ebenezer Hanks had consented to take over one third interest in the ranch with the object in view of helping to secure the land. He also explained that horses, mules and cattle would be received in payment for land at cash prices.

By the winter of 1855-56 definite boundaries had been run for the San Bernardino ranch and its survey was being completed. There was an increase in the sale of land and the surveyors were kept very busy. This sale increase may have been due to the release of a second part of the ranch from the mortgage so that warrant deeds could be given. Bonds were given where deeds were not possible. Very little money was taken in as down payment and the debt continued to plague the leaders throughout the winter.

At a meeting of the leading brethren of San Bernardino held on February 16, 1856, President Rich made a call for 500 head of stock to be sold and the funds applied upon the debt, but only 37 head were subscribed for. Rich then made an offer that if the community would take the entire ranch and pay the cost he would give it up and throw in what time and labor he had expended. The council declined to take over the ranch but agreed to support Rich and Lyman in

their efforts to pay the debt.

During 1856 several law suits were filed to remove squatters from the ranch or force them to pay for the land. The most widely publicized of these conflicts was with Jerome Benson. These troubles undoubtedly influenced many to be lax in their land payments.

Rich and Hanks were able to obtain an extension on the mortgage in Sept. 1856. In November and December they received from the mortgage holders two additional releases to farm land outside the city.

With the recall of Lyman and Rich to Salt Lake in the spring of 1857 Ebenezer Hanks took over the responsibility of the ranch debt. Hanks undertook the task with great zeal. He proposed that everyone contribute cash, cattle, horses, or grain to the cause. Persons who had paid for their land were to lend the proceeds of their contributions to him at interest of two and one half per cent per month. By August he announced that the debt had been reduced nearly one half in the previous three months and hoped to reduce it to $10,000 by October. In a letter to the Western Standard Hanks said, "If I can get some assistance from the brethren in the upper country, I shall be able to raise the mortgage and when this is done, I will soon be able to pay back the money. But while the mortgage is on the place, those half-hearted Mormons and unbelievers have an excuse

for not paying us what they owe us. We have sold land enough to pay all our debts, if we only had our pay; and I think we can get this as soon as the encumbrance of the mortgage is removed, for most of them have paid part and that makes it quite safe for us."[1]

Hanks went to San Francisco in November 1857 and by February of the following year was able to dispose of the remaining unsold property. Acting for himself, and as attorney for Rich and Lyman, he deeded to William A. Conn, George L. Tucker, and Richard G. Allen the last of the San Bernardino Ranch, nearly twenty-five thousand acres, for $18,000. This amount was ample to clear the mortgage and leave some over. This settlement was made after the Mormon colony had been recalled to Utah.

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[1] Record of San Bernardino Mission, August 28, 1857.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The religious and social life of the San Bernardino community was very closely interwoven. The church organization was the center of community life, and all activities, whether social, economic, or political were influenced by the religious fervor of the church leaders. If the colony were to serve its main purposes as an outpost: a controlled port of entry into the Great Basin; an all season outfitting center for saints enroute to the "Mormon Mecca"; a point of departure for missionaries to the islands of the Pacific and South America; as well as a key community for the saints who wished to live in a semitropical climate, the church influence must be dominate.

The Mormon Pioneers into San Bernardino in 1851 were under the leadership of Apostles Rich and Lyman, who had been appointed to lead the colony to Southern California and set up a branch of the church there. On July fifth and sixth, while the camp was still at the sycamore grove, these leaders called a general conference of all the church members. At this conference the San Bernardino Stake was organized. Richard Hopkins was made secretary of the branch and continued to serve as Church clerk during most of the time the Mormons were in the Valley. David Seely was chosen

as president of the stake, and he named Samuel Rolfe and Simeon Andrews as counselors. A High Council of eight, Theodore Turley, William Mathews, Alferd Bybee, Jefferson Hunt, Joseph Mathews, Charles Crisman, David M. Thomas, and James H. Rollins, was nominated by Apostle Rich and sustained by the members. William Crosby was appointed the bishop of the branch and Robert M. Smith and Albert W. Collins were chosen as his counselors.

President Lyman cautioned the Saints to settle their difficulties within the church and not to seek redress from the law of the country. Apostle Rich presented a resolution: "That this people as a body do covenant that they will not fellowship any that belong to the church who go to law, brother against brother, seeking redress of the laws of the land."[1] The resolution was adopted by the conference members. The early residents of San Bernardino followed that advice and were ruled for sometime by their religious convictions. The first case arising under the ordinances of San Bernardino was tried before Justice of Peace Jackson in October 1854. The first grand jury was empaneled in August 1855.

Sunday was observed as a day of prayer and church going. Only a grave emergency could postpone the regular

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[1] Journal History, July 6, 1851.

meetings, which included a morning service followed by a Sabbath School and Bible class and an afternoon or early evening service. Church services were held in the open while the pioneers remained at the sycamore grove. When they moved into the Old Fort a canvas pavilion was erected, which served as the meeting-house, assembly hall and school. The first public building to be erected in the old fort area was the Bowery, or Council House, an adobe structure sixty feet by thirty feet. This building replaced the canvas pavilion and served for several years as the meeting-house, recreational and social center.

The first meeting in the new building was the spring conference held on the sixth of April 1852. The meetings were very well attended, as the bowery was filled to capacity at each session. Lyman writes, that "it was a happy day for the Saints here. Eighty-one persons came forward and partook of the ordinance of baptism."[1]

The education of the young people was a basic policy followed by the church. While they were still at the sycamore grove a day school was organized for the children. James H. Rollins, Daniel M. Thomas, and J.P. Lee were the first instructors. When the colony moved into the fort the canvas pavilion, constructed in the north-east corner,

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[1] Lyman to Richards. June 25, 1852 in Millennial Star, Vol. XIV, 491.

served as the school. It must have been a difficult task for the two teachers, as well as the students, to hold this out-of-doors school during such trying and busy times. With the completion of the council house, the school was transferred into it. William Stout and J.P. Lee were chosen as the teachers for the one hundred twenty-five pupils. Hopkins records, on April 18, "Our school in the new bowery has been in operation one week, the beneficial result of which have already become visible, not only in the change of deportment in our mist, but the satisfaction it appears to give the older persons." The two teachers received twelve hundred dollars as remuneration for their first years work. This sum was raised entirely by subscription. In August the school commissioners, appointed by the state, visited the school in company with Apostle Charles C. Rich. "They found everything satisfactory and great improvement was noted in the scholars."[1]

Bishop Nathan C. Tenney took charge of the agricultural operations at the "old mission" area in 1852. Shortly after they occupied these buildings, Mrs. Tenney opened a school in one of the rooms for the children of the district. Some forty pupils were enrolled in 1853. This school room was, undoubtedly, the polling place

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[1] The Record of San Bernardino Mission, Aug. 26, 1852.

designated by the court of session for the mission precinct in the 1853 election.

The county assessor acted as the superintendent of common schools until 1853. In that capacity, V.J. Herring made a report to the school commissioners in November 1853 as follows: "The expenditure of $300 for library and apparatus, and $291.50 for building or renting and furnishing school house. The total expenditures on account of schools $2,029.50. Number of pupils taught in first and second districts 206."[1]

During the following year two adobe school buildings were erected in the city. The number of children enrolled in the two districts was reported as 403 in the fall of 1854.[2]

Horace Skinner was elected county superintendent of schools in 1855. In November he and the San Bernardino city school trustees, David Seeley, James H. Rollin and Theodore Turley, formed a committee to select sites for school purposes. They selected six lots in the San Bernardino area and the following year a deed was made out by Lyman, Rich and Hanks to the city for them.

The festivities in the Mormon colony were in keeping

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[1] Ingersoll, op. cit., 1.

[2] Beattie, op. cit., 225.

with the religious beliefs. The first Independence Day after their arrival in the valley was commemorated in a most unique fashion and showed the spirit of fellowship that existed among the group. Charles C. Rich was in Utah during the harvest season of 1852 and the celebration included the cutting of his grain. Hopkins give this description, "Monday- The festivities in honor of Independence Day was commenced in San Bernardino by sounding of the horn, at which signal the entire strength of the settlers assembled at the bars of the big field, every man being armed for the occasion. After a short and patriotic appeal by the orator of the day, amusements of different kinds commenced. The patriotism of American citizens, and the brotherly love of the Latter-day Saints burning within their hearts the people commenced a furious onslaught upon the thousands of heads that at sunrise bowed gently as a welcome to the zephyrs floating overhead and in the evening measured their length upon mother earth. The affair was conducted in a manner worthy of the occasion. There was scarcely a cessation in the labor of love until the entire crop of General Rich's wheat was cut bound and put up. No accident or interruption occurred to mar the festivities of the day."[1]

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[1] The Records of the San Bernardino Mission, July 5, 1852.

Two months later the festivity of the community was the harvest celebration. Parley P. Pratt says, "On September 4, 1852, I attended a Harvest Feast in the bowery or meeting house. The entire people made this feast, and assembled to enjoy it. The room was richly and tastefully ornamented and set off with evergreens, specimens of grain, vegetables, etc.. The meeting opened by prayer and singing and a few remarks from myself and others, after which the entire day and evening was spent in feasting, dancing and speaking.

Every variety almost which the earth produced or skill could prepare was spread out in profusion and partaken of by all citizens, strangers, Spaniards or Indians-with freedom and good order which is characteristic of the Saints. The dances were conducted with decorum and propriety. Old and young, married and single, grandsire and child, all mingling in dance so far as they chose, without a jarring spirit to mar the peace."[1]

The Christmas season was ushered in with a social dance held on the twenty-fourth of December in the council house. This was given especially for the children, who had attended school. About one hundred fifty young folks were in attendance. The dance commenced shortly after noon

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[1] Pratt, Parley P., op. cit., 453-454.

and continued until early evening when the group was addressed by Elders Hosea Stout, James Lewis, and Chapman Duncan on the advantages of an early education.

Later celebrations in honor of Independence Day took on a more typical Fourth-of-July manner. In 1853 a balloon was sent up from inside the fort as a part of the festivity. However, in 1856 and 1857 the community really observed the occasion by sponsoring two separate celebrations. The factional groups were definitely drawn by then and each group tried to out do the other. Hopkins says, July 4, 1856, "Independence Day was duly celebrated at San Bernardino. An interesting program was carried out at the bowery. Charles W. Wandell was the orator of the day and Theodore Turley chaplin; Charles C. Rich also spoke. The rest of the program consisted of toasts, music, singing, dancing, etc.. About two thousand persons sat down to a most sumptuous dinner. A goodly number of the Spanish population was present and also visitors from the surrounding country; a good spirit prevailed throughout. The opposition party raised a small Liberty pole and also had a dinner, speeches, etc.." Parties representing the factional celebrations visited the other group. They saluted each others flags, put on short riding displays and in general extended best wishes to their rival.

In 1857 the friction between the two groups was

much more keen. The church group made extensive preparations. The clerk writes, July 3, "All was activity in San Bernardino in preparation for the celebration of the Fourth of July. The people have erected a new bowery on the public square. The opposition and apostates are preparing to celebrate at Fort Benson." The group at Benson's obtained a large flag pole which they planted near the edge of the dirt embankment. The church party obtained a larger one and erected it on the public square near the bowery. Says Hopkins, "The celebration of Independence Day proved to be a success and an enjoyable affair for the citizens of San Bernardino. The people formed in procession at the school house and marched to the Bowery where the Declaration of Independence was read and an oration delivered by Jefferson Hunt. A sumptuous dinner was prepared in which citizens and strangers joined to the number of fifteen hundred. After dinner dancing was indulged in until four o'clock P.M., when the crowd dispersed in peace." There was no exchange of courtesies between the two groups that year, as feeling had become too strained.

The settlement at San Bernardino was closely tied up with the missionary activity of the church. It aided many missionaries in their journey from Salt Lake to their fields of labor and on their return. The pioneer group under Rich and Lyman who founded San Bernardino were

accompanied into the valley by Parley P. Pratt, Rufus Alden and some thirty missionaries who were headed for South America or Pacific Island missions. Pratt and his families were back in San Bernardino on the 14th of August 1852 on his return from South America. He stayed there for some three weeks and rested before continuing his journey to Salt Lake City.

On the third of December 1852 a company of thirty-eight missionaries arrived at the Old Fort. Hosea Stout says, "We arrived in San Bernardino at sunset, where we were received by the Saints who came together to receive us and offer their firesides and tables to us for homes while we tarry here."[1] He also recorded the events at a farewell meeting held on the second of January. "A collection was made for our mission and $55.45 raised. Several saints contributed to the missionaries individually. Washington Cook game me $5.00 and Andrew Lythe the same. Charles Burk gave me a vest, William Stout $20.00, and David Seely $5.00. David Fredrick gave me a pair of boots worth $7.00. Gilbert Sumrue gave me $50.00 and Nathan Thomas gave a title to a claim which he owned on a gold mine worth $150.00." If the others fared nearly as well as Stout the frequent missionary outfittings certainly were

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[1] Stout, Hosea, Journal, December 3, 1852.

a drain on the finances of the new colony. This group stayed in San Bernardino until January 3, and were provided with outfits to take them to the seaport.

Joseph F. Smith writes, "We arrived in San Bernardino on the ninth of June, all well and hearty and feeling rejoiced at once more meeting some of our old friends. After the lapse of several weeks during which the brethren were engaged in acquiring means to defray expenses across the water, we left San Bernardino in a couple of wagons provided by the brethren for the occasion and arrived at the coast on the evening of July 6th."[1]

John R. Young writes, "Upon arrival at San Bernardino, we were warmly welcomed by Bros. Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich and, also, by the colony of saints. We rested there three weeks. I made my home with Elder Addison Pratt.---As soon as we had disposed of our outfits we moved on. The saints kindly furnished teams to haul us 80 miles to San Pedro."[2]

Hopkins records the arrival of numerous other missionary groups at San Bernardino and the cordial welcome given them by the Saints. They generally stayed several weeks and were not only transported to the seaport, but

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[1] Journal History, February 24, 1858, page 1 records the report of Joseph F. Smith's Mission to the Hawaiian Islands.

[2] Ibid., May 6, 1854.

also, given substantial financial aid needed to defray expenses on their ocean voyage. At the conference of 1853 a contribution of $800 was made to the Perpetual Emigration Fund. The colony, also, contributed its share of missionaries to the proselyting program of the church leaders. George Q. Cannon writes from San Francisco, "There are some 75 or 80 elders sent out in company with Brother Amasa Lyman, from San Bernardino, to labor in various parts of the state."[1] Elders William Mathews and William J. Cox left San Bernardino on August 7, 1853 for a mission to San Diego. At a special conference held on the sixteenth of March 1856 a number of San Bernardino residents were called to go on missions; three were appointed to go to Australia, two, Addison Pratt and Ambrose Alexander, to the Society Islands, four to the California coast and six to Southern California.[2]

The missionary zeal showed some result, and very soon convert groups arrived at San Bernardino. A few settled in the valley and added to the colony's population, but most of them stayed only long enough to get outfits to carry them to Great Salt Lake City. In September 1853 Lyman writes, "We have had a small accession to our numbers

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[1] Ibid., July 21, 1855.

[2] Ibid., April 4, 1856.

by the arrival of a party from Australia as the first fruits of the mission."[1]

Several of the Mormons who went to San Francisco with Sam Brannan, in 1847, left the bay area and moved to Utah or San Bernardino. Quartus Sparks was one of the group that migrated to San Bernardino in 1852. Others found their way south during the next two years. Parley P. Pratt writes from San Francisco, "The brethren are selling out and making preparations for Utah in the spring. Some have already gathered at San Bernardino."[2]

In September 1856 three missionaries, Bros. Farnham, Fleming, and Cook, arrived at San Bernardino from Australia with a company of one hundred and twenty-five Saints, converts to the church. Farnham soon continued on to Salt Lake arriving there "the twenty-first of November, leaving a ship load of Saints at San Bernardino, the most of whom it is expected will come on during the ensuing season."[3] This group of Australia Saints brought a seven stop organ with them, which they donated to the church. It was taken to Salt Lake in June 1857. This organ had been constructed by Joseph H. Ridges, a convert, while

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[1] Ibid., September 1, 1853.

[2] Pratt to Young, Ibid., Dec. 14, 1854.

[3] Journal History, Dec. 10, 1856.

still in Sidney. He later built the famous organ in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Brother J.T. Cone and several other missionaries came in during the same month, on their way home from the Sandwich Islands, and Bro. Skelton arrived from India on the seventh. Rich says, "All reported favorably of the field of their labor except Bro. Skelton, who thinks the people of India are almost wholly joined to their idols and have not much desire for the gospel."[1]

William Wall and A.P. Dowdle brought a company of seventy-eight converts, from Australia, to Southern California in October 1857. This was after the news of the Mountain Meadows Massacre had arrived and created general excitement throughout the country. They had some difficulty with an Anti-Mormon group at Los Angeles but after some delay were able to procede and arrived in San Bernardino on the seventeenth. The next day was Sunday and Wall spoke at the meeting where he officially delivered the charge of the company to the president of the Stake, William Cox. President Cox arranged for most of them to go on to Utah when the Saints evacuated the colony during the next two months.

Regular conferences were held twice a year, in April and October. At the October conference in 1853 a report of

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[1] Rich to Deseret News, Sept. 8, 1856.

the membership was given. "The total number in the San Bernardino branch was one thousand and two in good standing. The San Jose branch represented by Elder John M. Horner, numbered thirty-two in good standing. The San Francisco branch, with Thomas Morris president, numbered twenty-six in good standing."[1] This report showed that the population had doubled in the two years the Mormons had been in the Southern California Valley. The regular conferences were largely devoted to the presenting of reports from the wards, branches and various missions, the sustaining of the church officials, from the President to the least of the local authorities, and the issuing of general instructions of church policy. It, also, offered an opportunity for the leaders to inspire their following with the necessity of living their religion more fully.

William Chandless gives a first hand account of church sercices held in San Bernardino. "Sunday-Went to meeting at the school house, but it was full before I got there - there is no other church - benches were placed for some distance around the door, by which the speaker stood, so as to be able to be heard outside as well as in. The sacrament was administered; but here, as in Salt Lake, water was used, though pure wine can be obtained within forty or fifty miles.

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[1] Journal History, October 6, 1853.

Rich the Apostle- usually called General Rich, from his commission in the Nauvoo legion- spoke, quietly and in the main sensibly. He said he would speak that evening at____ (six miles off); he did not know that anyone would wish to come that far to hear him. When the meeting separated a great many people came up and shook hands with him and he seemed friendly and familiar with them all. In the evening there was another meeting; some women- old women- spoke, but they had nothing to say; it does not seem much the fashion for young women to speak."[1]

Special conferences were called at other times as the occasion demanded. In July 1855 the first item of business before the conference was one that, in communities other than those dominated by Mormons, would have been strictly a case of the law courts. David Seeley the president of the stake, was accused of striking a Brother Louis Jacob on the head with a stick, thence endangering his life. Seeley confessed his fault and begged forgiveness of the conference members. A motion was then presented that the conference drop Brother Seeley as the president of the stake and forgive him. This motion carried unanimously.

William Cox was later chosen to succeed Seeley as

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[1] Chandless, William, A Visit to Salt Lake, 302.

the president of the San Bernardino. At the October conference he was accepted by the congregation. "The largest that ever attended a meeting at San Bernardino." Daniel M. Thomas and William Mathews were chosen as his counselors. Daniel Hart, John D. Holliday and M.L. Shepherd were accepted to fill vacancies on the High Council. These vacancies occured when the two members Mathews and Thomas were elevated to the presidency and Robert Smith, who had become dissatisfied with conditions in the colony, moved away. Francis B. Norris was disfellowshipped by action of the conference for drunkenness and immoral conduct. As will be noted later, events occured at this time that caused the first general dissention to the church leadership.

Hopkins writes, Jan. 3, 1856, "Quite an improvement is noticed among a portion of the inhabitants and a number of the saints are renewing their covenants. Well attended prayer meetings are being held in the various wards."[1]

Although the leaders were making a great effort to bring harmony in the colony and keep the members in line with church policies, the number of dissatisfied increased. Apostle Rich called a special conference on March 15 and 16, 1856, and informed the congregation that he did so because he anticipated leaving for Salt Lake City before the annual

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Jan. 3, 1856.

conference and wished to transact such necessary business before he left. In the afternoon session of the sixteenth, several persons were excommunicated from the church. Alferd M. Cooper was dropped for dishonest conduct in running away without paying his debts. Nine others, Dr. Joseph Shaw, Condalara Hoffman, Cyrus Confield, Robert M. Smith, John Carrol and wife, Nathan Hart, Jonathan Newman, and Isaac A. Tuck, were dropped for unchristian like conduct. Other cases were said to be under advisement, and unless there was a change in their conduct they would be dealt with the same way.[1]

In February 1857 several very prominent residents of San Bernardino and some who had held high positions in the church were dropped from the church for unchristian like conduct. Among the group were, Quartus S. Sparks, George K. Wener, Charles Chapman, Marshall Hunt, and William Stout. The action was upheld by unanimous vote of a special conference. Several others were disfellowshipped for conduct unworthy of Saints. This was the last special conference at which the two Apostles, Lyman and Rich, presided as they were soon recalled to Salt Lake City and left the following month.

The leaders who founded San Bernardino tried to keep

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[1] Journal History, March 15, 1856.

their colony a Mormon community. The church attempted to provide not only religious life for the group but its social and recreational activities as well. The educational system was closely supervised. There was an attempt to keep the morals of the community up to standard that was in keeping with their general policy.

This church control of everyday life worked out very well at first while the colony was compact and there were few outsiders. The community spirit of helpfulness was very commendable. A person in difficult circumstances found a large group ready to respond to a call of the Bishop or the stake president to render any possible service and aid. In the spring of 1852 when public business prevented both Rich and Lyman from completing their plowing and planting, President Seeley extended an invitation for the community to turn out and "assist in finishing Brothers Lyman's and Rich's fields." A large number responded to the call. When a fire destroyed the Lyman-Rich saw mill in the mountain it was rebuilt by gratis labor. Chandless was impressed by the appointment of a committee to supervise the construction and furnishing of a cottage for an aged widow.

With the growth of the colony and the influx of luke warm members and non-believers, plus land grant difficulities, there developed a tendency on the part of many

to oppose church domination of other than religious activities. Chandless says, "There is a considerable mixture of gentiles in the place---for already they are becoming discontented with the Mormon ecclesiastical government. The tone of society is far less agreeable and more money making than in Utah."[1]

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[1] Chandless, op. cit., 304.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL AND CIVIC AFFAIRS

When the Mormon pioneers settled on the San Bernardino Ranch, that area was a part of Los Angeles County. The county seat was located at Los Angeles and all property transfers and other official acts must be taken there for recording. This inconvenience led to an early movement to divide the county. Hopkins states, that Daniel Thomas was busy, in early January, getting signatures on a petition asking the state legislature to create a new county.

In 1852, Captain Jefferson Hunt was elected as one of the members to represent Los Angeles County in the State Assembly. During the legislative session he presented the petition. The legislature complied to the petition, on April 26, 1853, by passing "An Act for dividing the County of Los Angeles and making a new county therefrom, to be called San Bernardino County."

This new county had extensive boundaries, extending north and south some one hundred and fifty miles and averaged two hundred miles from east to west. It was the largest county ever created in the State of California, if not in the United States, says Ingersoll. It contained 23,472 square miles or was about half the size of the State of New York.

In accordance with the enabling act a special election was held on June 28, 1853 to elect officers for the organization of San Bernardino County. More than two hundred votes were cast. The San Bernardino precinct polled about one hundred seventy-five. David Seeley, chairman of the board of commissioners, announced the results of the elections on July 2, and declared the election of the following officials: Daniel M. Thomas, as county judge; Quartus S. Sparks, county attorney; Richard R. Hopkins, county clerk and recorder; Robert Clift, sheriff; David Seeley, treasurer; Henry G. Sherwood, surveyor; William Stout, assessor; and William J. Cox, coroner. These officials with but one change were elected at the first regular election held the following November. V.J. Herring replaced William Stout as assessor. Jefferson Hunt was elected to the State Assembly and continued to represent his county there until his departure from California in 1857. In December 1854 the office of county attorney was declared vacant, Sparks had been absent from the county for three months, and James Rollins was appointed to fill it.

The Church Council House served as the first court house for the new county, and was used as such for several years. Later the court house was transferred to the residence built by Quartus Sparks.

The first County Court of Sessions consisted of

Daniel M. Thomas, county judge, and John Brown and V.J. Herring, justices of the peace. At their first meeting in August, they divided the county into three town-ships, San Bernardino, San Salvador, and Chino. Voting places were established in each of these divisions. The court also took charge of the establishing of public roads within the county.[1] Henry G. Sherwood, Quartus S. Sparks and Isaac Williams were chosen by the citizens of San Bernardino to represent their county as delegates to the Democratic Convention held at Los Angeles. A candidate for the State Senate to represent the three counties, Los Angeles, San Diego and San Bernardino was chosen.

While San Bernardino was still a part of Los Angeles County a considerable debt had been contracted. Captain Jefferson Hunt and S.M. Jackson represented San Bernardino in the adjustment of the debt between the two counties. By November the division was made and San Bernardino's portion was fixed at about $4,000.

On April 13, 1854 the Legislature of California passed a special act incorporating the city of San Bernardino. An election for municipal officers was held in June. Amasa Lyman was chosen as mayor; John D. Holliday, marshall; Theodore Turley, assessor; James H. Rollins, treasurer; and

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[1] Journal History, July 2, 1853.

A.M. Jackson, attorney. The first city council consisted of Charles C. Rich, George W. Serrine, Daniel Starks, William J. Cox and Quartus Sparks. The first municipal officials were all members of the Mormon Church.

There had been no opposition to the church candidates at the first elections, but as non-Mormons moved into the community and members became dissatisfied and fell away, opposition appeared. By 1855 this opposition was very evident and it continued to increase as long as the Mormons stayed in San Bernardino.

Among the first ordinances passed by the city council were those restricting drinking and gambling. These perhaps prompted by complaints that on the Fourth of July some men from Juropa were drunk and disturbing the peace. "The first case arising under the ordinance of the city of San Bernardino was tried by Justice Jackson. The offense was drunkenness for which the guilty party was fined $50 and costs.[1]

Early lawsuits in San Bernardino County were between "outsiders" or those not belonging to the Mormon Church. Judge Hays says, "The Mormons do not tolerate lawsuits among themselves, adjusting all their difficulties by arbitration." The first lawsuit instituted after

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[1] Records of San Bernardino Mission, Oct. 24, 1854.

the arrival of the Mormons was the result of a robbery on the Juropa Ranch. The parties appeared before the justice of the peace in San Bernardino on June 2, 1852. The jury was composed of Church members. Hosea Stout writes, "October 3, 1853 was engaged in legal business today for one Dan Jose Marie Valdez in the case of ejectment, for which he gave me $25." And on October 5, "Had another lawsuit; Louis Robidoux Compt. vs. Diego Labarra, for driving off his calves and killing his calves, cows and beeves. Court before John Brown, J.P.. The complaint had neither Title, Court, nor Venue, and was consequently quashed. I was on the part of the defense and am to receive as a fee a horse, saddle and rigging."[1]

Hopkins says, on October 26, 1854, "Charles Allen and Jasper Wilson were committed by Justice Jackson for stealing a barrel of pork from the store of Mr. Gloser." San Bernardino was comparatively free from crime during its first years and no grand jury was impaneled until August 6, 1855. "The order was given today by the county judge for the impaneling of a grand jury," writes Hopkins, "which is the first grand jury to be called since our county organization went into effect." The first indictment of the grand jury was made on August 7, against a Spaniard for assault

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[1] Stout, op. cit., September 11, 1853.

and battery on John Brown.[1] The first conviction for any criminal offense occured on October 8, 1855 in the San Bernardino court. Lepisu, a Spaniard, was sentenced to two years imprisonment in the penitentiary for horse stealing.[2]

Later legal difficulties and lawsuits that the Mormons were a party to arose from debts and disputes over the extent of the boundry of the ranch. In April 1856 Lyman, Rich and Hopkins were notified by Mr. Robidoux that he had placed the note he held against them in the hands of an attorney for collection. Hopkins says, "This may be termed one of the first acts of persecution against us in this land, as we were willing to pay the debt without being sued." He continues, on the 22nd, "We have paid the note that Louis Robidoux held against us. We turned over the cattle which we collected to drive up the country and taking them to Robidoux, stopped the lawsuit against us. This is quite a relief notwithstanding we sold the cattle at a loss."

Trouble arose between the Church authorities and John Brown over the tract of land he was occupying at Yucaipa. Brown was a non-Mormon, but had been very friendly.

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Aug. 7, 1855.

[2] Journal History, October 8, 1855.

He was one of the judges of the County Court of Sessions when it was first formed. In 1856 he was notified that the land he was occupying was included in the eight leagues selected as part of the San Bernardino grant. This was a shock to him as he thought the land would be outside the grant, and he would eventually be able to gain title to it. Hopkins wrote on April 13, "John Brown who was in charge of the Yucaipa Ranch was at this time creating an influence against the authorities of the Church and joined his sympathy with all the dissenters who influenced the public against the saints. He claimed that he came near being murdered a few nights ago on his way home from San Bernardino and that three shots were fired at him by Mormons."

On the 18th of April he wrote, "Mr. Brown of Yucaipa signed an agreement with Lyman and Rich to leave the rancho with his stock within ten days. Immediately after returning home he called the neighbors and settlers around him and told them he was unjustly dealt with and that if they took a stand the Mormons would drive them out of the country. The consequence was that the meeting signed a remonstrance and he refused to leave the land. After that they used every exertion to create an excitement against the saints."[1]

A special election was held in San Bernardino on

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, April 18, 1856.

January 20, 1855 to fill vacancies in the city's council. Sidney Tanner and Marcus Shepherd were elected councilman; Francis B. Norris, attorney; and Gilbert Summe, pound-keeper. There was no opposition at this election but some dissension had developed by April in the electing of the county supervisors. Lyman wrote regarding this, "There was some opposition to the ticket from a faction headed by Mr. Valentine Johnson, Herring, F.M. Van Leuven and Benjamin F. Gruard. The faction candidates received: Gruard, 13 votes; Van Leuven, 19; Crosby, 100; Starks, 99." Crosby and Starks were the candidates referred to as the ticket. The city election was held May 7, 1855 and Hopkins writes, "the regular nominations were sustained."[1]

This opposition was the first real dissension to the control of the colony by the Church leaders. Both Van Leuven and Gruard had been members of the church but at the time of the election they were perhaps not in good standing. They were both disfellowshipped, "for pursuing a factious course of conduct," at a meeting a week later. V.J. Herring had served as a member of the first Court of Sessions that set up the election districts and supervised the organization of the county. He was then county assessor having replaced William Stout in November 1853. He evidently opposed the

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, April 21, 1855.

church ticket because of disagreements he had with Lyman and Rich over the valuation of the ranch properties. He did not seek office when his term expired that fall.

On August 17, Hopkins wrote, "The spirit of dissension is becoming more evident some men who have occupied prominent positions in the church are very violent against the authorities. Among them is Robert M. Smith, a member of the High Council, who is going to leave us and take his family. Another is Benjamin F. Gruard, who for a number of years labored as a missionary in the Society Islands. He has been cut off the church and is now violent against the authorities. This spirit is growing more public than formerly and has many advocates, thus verifying the assertions of Bros. Lyman and Rich, on our arrival in the valley, that if we had trouble here it would be started by those in our midst."

Candidates for the State Senate made an electioneering visit to San Bernardino during August. Mr. Lewis Granger, accompanied by Mr. Doughertty, a newspaperman, was in the valley on the eigth. On the eleventh J.J. Warner, of Warner's Ranch, near San Diego, addressed the people in the bowery. A meeting of the legal voters was held on the twenty-third and candidates for the various county offices were nominated. "A number of speakers from other places addressed the meeting, unity and good feeling prevailed,"

says Hopkins. Two days later the "opposition," as the Non-Mormon party was called, held their convention at "the old mission," and nominated candidates.

September 5, 1855 was general election day and was described thus, "All was excitement at San Bernardino. The Anti-Mormons were very industrious. However everything passed off quietly and orderly and the returns subsequently showed the success of the general ticket, in electing all the county officers and defeating the Anti-Mormon candidates. The entire vote of the county was Democratic except fourteen votes which were given for the Know-nothing Governor."

There was slight opposition in the special election held on November 30, 1855, for mayor and city attorney. Charles C. Rich and Horace H. Skinner were elected to the respective offices.

The dissension among the settlers increased during the fall and winter of 1855-1856. Several men who had been prominent in the church broke away at that time. The reason was not so much a loss of faith in the church beliefs as dissatisfaction in the way the affairs were being conducted. Land ownership disputes, some of which have already been described was an increasing source of trouble. Conflicts, also, developed in the use of water for irrigation purposes. The construction of a ditch by Bishop Tenney from the Santa Ana River to the land he was in charge of at

the old mission caused a protest by the settlers at the Timber and City Creek settlements. Both groups had constructed their ditches during the winter of 1856. Although the Tenney ditch was started first, the settlers of Timber and City Creek were able to construct their shorter ditch in less time and use the water of the river first, thus establishing a prior right to it. The water commissioner up held the protest and ordered a tight dam across the head of the Tenney ditch. This was bound to cause ill feelings.

The drouth of 1856 was, perhaps, responsible for the selection, by Lyman and Rich, of more land to the south and east of the city as a part of the land grant instead of the area on the extreme north side. The large grain field, some 2,000 acres, to the north could not be irrigated and was a complete failure in 1856. The selection and the survey of the land on the south of the valley took in the semi-moist land east of the city, the Timber and City Creek settlements, the old mission region and the area to the south called Yucaipa. Van Leuven, John Brown, Benson and the Cram brothers were affected by this selection and the Benson trouble, or war resulted. Others who took sides with Brown and Benson in blocking the attempt to eject them, were interested in the area being government land. Weaver and Ayers, who had signed the protest had counted on it as

a part of the San Timoteo grant that they were interested in. Some of the others who became dissatisfied and joined the opposition were Henry G. Sherwood, Quartus S. Sparks, Robert M. Smith, and Charles Chapman. Sherwood was the first county surveyor, and had earlier aided in the survey of Salt Lake City. He had become alienated to the policies of the authorities in Salt Lake City and had opposed the application of these policies in San Bernardino. Quartus Sparks broke with the church when he was chastised by the High Council for alleged flagrant misdoings. He was later "disfellowshipped" by Apostle Parley P. Pratt for abuse of his family and drunkenness.[1]

The opposition group became very active in the campaign for municipal offices in the spring of 1856. They held a caucus meeting on the 25th of April. Hopkins reports that, "the party consists almost exclusively of apostates----. They were addressed by Henry Sherwood, Quartus Sparks, Charles Chapman, Dr. Woodville, and Mr. M. Andrews. These speeches were of the independent order." This group held a public meeting on the evening of the twenty-sixth and discussed the subject of reform at the coming election. "Henry G. Sherwood and Quartus S. Sparks were vehement in the denunciation of the Mormon rule."

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[1] Ingersoll, op. cit., 148.

The election was held on May 5 and Andrew Lythe was elected mayor. The "general ticket" condidates received 135 votes and the "opposition" or Anti-Mormon group polled 26 voltes. Party lines continued to widen during the summer and fall. The two groups became so antagonistic that each held separate celebrations for Independence Day that year.

Further friction was provoked as a result of the arrest of Louis Robidoux and Dr. St. Clair. On October 18, "The opposition party held a ratification meeting which broke up unsatisfactorily to them and about midnight Louis Robidoux and a minion of his by the name of Dr. St. Clair were drinking and tried to promote a fight. They got into a carriage to leave and as they started St. Clair drew his revolver and fired into the crowd, though without hitting anyone. Both were arrested and held to answer before the law."[1]

In the general election for national, state and county officials, that fall, the church group supported the Democratic candidates, the independents voted for the Republican nominees. The total vote cast in San Bernardino County for presidential candidates was: James Buchanan, 314; John C. Fremont, 93; and Millard Fillmore, 7.[2]

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Oct. 18, 1856.

[2] Beattie, op. cit., 261.

Perhaps the most serious conflict between the two groups came as a result of a lawsuit against Jerome Benson. Benson was described as, "an apostate squatter on the land of Lyman and Rich, who refused to give the owners possession or pay for the land. He was sued for the land, the court deciding in favor of the owners."[1] Benson had settled south of the Santa Ana River in the vicinity of the properties held by Van Leuven and John Brown. When the final selection of the San Bernardino grant was made in 1856 his property along with that held by the others was included. When he disregarded a notification to evacuate the land a suit was filed against him to force him to do so. Benson and a few of the Independents decided to resist any attempts by the officers of the law to take over his land. They threw up a dirt fortification on his claim, which later acquired the name of Fort Benson, and defied the law to put them off the property. Hopkins says, "On March 20, 1857, an Anti-Mormon meeting was held at the house of Benson, near San Bernardino. About twenty-five persons were present and none were admitted except those who would sign a paper, promising to stand by Benson in his lawless acts. In the afternoon F.M. Van Leuven, Sparks, Benson and some others came with a wagon to take away a

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[1] Journal History, March 4, 1857.

cannon which the opposition group had used the previous July to celebrate Independence Day. This cannon had laid in the streets since that time. They now took it to Benson's House and fortified the same resisting the officers in ejecting Benson."

Lyman and Rich secured the judgement against Benson in the Justice of Peace Court of San Bernardino. After the approval of the ranch survey he was paid for his improvements. Benson, nevertheless, stayed on the land and maintained his fortification until after the Mormons left the community and returned to Utah. The District Court in reviewing the case, at a later date, threw it out of court on a technicality that the Justice of Peace Court had acted irregularly.

After the departure of Rich and Lyman in April the affairs of the church were left in the hands of the President of the Stake, William Cox, with Hanks taking care of the finances of the ranch. On July 18 a committee, described by the clerk as, "Styled the law abiding Democrats of San Bernardino, called upon President Cox for a committee of Mormons to meet with them and consult upon the distribution of the county offices to be filled at the election in September, next. This party was composed of what is called Independent Liberal Minded Individuals. Some of them have never been connected with the Mormons,

but had been friendly toward them. The balance were apostate Mormons, but not the radical kind." Committees representing the two groups met together and agreed upon a list of candidates. On the 15th of August they presented to a mass meeting of the citizens of San Bernardino "the results of their deliberations by naming candidates to fill the county offices at the coming election. The nominees were indorsed by the meeting and everything went off quietly."[1]

Hopkins writes on the 20th, "Some of the disappointed office seekers in our place feel disposed to kick against the nominations that have been made, and are desirous of creating division." He continues on the 29th, "The apostate party held what they called a mass meeting in a room about sixteen feet square. They are attempting to make nominations which will split our ticket."

The Democratic district convention held in Los Angeles to nominate a candidate for the state senate was the scene of further political difficulty. At a county convention the Mormon party had appointed delegates to the convention. The opposition group met later and also appointed delegates. The two sets of delegates applied for admission. This, according to the clerk, "called out Anti-Mormon speeches

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Aug. 18, 1857.

from Fred N. Van Leuven and Arthur Parks of San Bernardino and Dr. William B. Osburn and Mr. Copewood of Los Angeles County. Mormon principles and politics were abused. A list of the regular delegates and two of the Antis were admitted to the convention."

The county election was held on the seond of September and "passed off quietly. There was not a single disturbance in the city. The Mormon ticket was again victorious."[1]

Events of the last three months that the Mormons stayed in San Bernardino increased the ill feeling between the factional groups and added a great deal to the general excitement of the community. The mail from Utah that arrived September the first, brought the news of the stoppage of the United States Mail on the eastern route from the States to Salt Lake City, by orders of the Federal Government. It, also, brought a rumor, which was later substantiated, that between three and four thousand troops, with a new governor and a full set of territorial officers, were on their way to Utah.[2]

The report of the massacre of some 118 emigrants by the Indians at Mountain Meadows, in Utah, increased the

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Sept. 2, 1857.

[2] Journal History, September 1, 1857.

enmity among the Non-Mormons. Hopkins writes, on the 20th of October, "San Bernardino was in a state of great excitement on account of the recent Indian difficulties and their being attributed to the Mormons. The apostates are still trying to incite the public against the Saints in San Bernardino." On the 26th he continued, "The 'Los Angeles Star', a paper published in Los Angeles, has taken a decided stand against us by publishing articles and editorials against us and will not publish anything in our favor when sent to them." On the 28th he says, "The Antis are refusing to pay their taxes to Mormon officers."[1]

The hostility of the Anti-Mormons and the rise of political opposition in San Bernardino was largely due to grievences arising from the system of land tenure, from irrigation disputes, and from alleged discrimination against certain individuals. These grievences were generally local and did not arouse hostility to the chruch group outside the San Bernardino area. Although the Los Angeles paper devoted a great deal of space to the threatened war in Utah and the people were much alarmed over the rumor of a possible raid by Mormons and Indians to secure military supplies and animals, "The merchants and citizens of Los Angeles had maintained friendly and profitable relations

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, dates given.

with the Mormons and regretted their impending departure."[1]

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[1] Beattie, op. cit., 288.

CHAPTER VIII

BREAKING UP OF THE COLONY

Mormon domination was brought to an abrupt ending, when the Saints responded to a call of their leader to return to Zion. The breaking up of the colony must have been a heart rendering event to many who had labored so diligently to establish themselves in this southern valley. Some had struggled for over six years, and were, in 1857, realizing some results for their labor: comfortable homes, productive farms and profitable business enterprises. The land to be included within the ranch had been decided upon, the boundaries surveyed and the United States Land Commission had approved the grant. The debt had been reduced to a point where it would be easy to liquidate. Most of the land under cultivation had been released from mortgage and the purchasers had received deeds to their property. The call to return came at a time when the economic prospects of the community seemed to be at its best.

Why did Brigham Young issue a call that broke up this outpost?

In the spring of 1857 Apostles Rich and Lyman were instructed to leave San Bernardino and return to Salt Lake City where they would be assigned to "fields of labor in

other parts of the world." Ebenezer Hanks had been in partnership with Rich and Lyman in the financial obligation of the ranch and was left in charge of the liquidation of that debt. The Church affairs were entrusted to the Stake President William Cox.

The news that they (Lyman and Rich) were leaving caused some excitement and gave vent to outbursts by the opposition group and depression of sorrow from the Saints. Hopkins writes, on April 7, "Charles Chapman, Quartus Sparks and a few kindred spirits were at Los Angeles and El Monte, using every means in their power to induce a mob to stop Elders Lyman and Rich from leaving. Their plan was to blockade the Cajon Pass and try to prevent their passing out, thereby, drawing the Saints into conflict. Then they expected to raise the whole country and go to work and drive the Mormons out and plunder their property."[1]

The outburst by the Sparks-Chapman group seems to have been over a debt. As the clerk continues, on the 13th, "Sparks came to San Bernardino and Brother Lyman, Rich and Hanks gave a bond to pay him the balance due on the outlawed note as soon as the injunction was raised. The excitement and influence of the opposition group was gradually dying out."

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[1] Records of San Bernardino Mission, April 7, 1857.

Rich and Lyman left San Bernardino on the 16th of April, "their teams making quite a train." The clerk laments on the 20th that, "Our city looks lonesome and desolate in consequence of the absence of Elders Lyman and Rich and those who went with them."

Although Hopkins expresses himself such, the company only included some thirty men, five of whom had their families. The Deseret News noted, "Elder C.C. Rich, with a small company arrived from San Bernardino on the 9th of June."[1] Joseph Ridges was a member of the company, and the seven wagons used to haul the pipe organ increased the appearance of the wagon train.

Disputes and troubles between "Brigham Young's State of Deseret" and the appointive officials of the United States government had existed for some time but culminated in 1857 with the dispatching of an army to Utah to put down an alleged rebellion. News of the sending of the army reached the Mormon authorities on the 24th of July while they were at Brighton celebrating the tenth anniversary of their arrival into the Great Salt Lake Valley.

The colony at San Bernardino received official news of the pending trouble in Utah on the 1st of September. "Mail from Utah arrived in San Bernardino bringing news

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[1] Deseret News, July 20, 1857.

of the stoppage of the United States mail on the eastern route from the States to Great Salt Lake City, by orders of the general government; also that three or four thousand troops with a new governor and a full set of territorial officers were on their way to Utah."[1]

The receipt of this news and the fact that a compromise ticket for county officials, supported by the Church, was elected the next day, must have caused some speculation by the public as to the future of the colony. Jefferson Hunt had not been a candidate for re-election to the State Assembly but the Church had supported a friendly non-Mormon. Did Hunt anticipate a recall?

The mail of October 1, brought the startling news of the dreadful massacre of some 118 emigrants at the Mountain Meadows, William Mathews and Sidney Tanner who had accompanied Lyman and Rich to Salt Lake City, were returning to San Bernardino with the mail and had passed through Mountain Meadows a short time after the massacre. They expressed the fear that this tragedy would be attributed to the Mormons and it would create a great deal of antagonism and ill feeling against the Saints.

They were right in their expectations as Hopkins writes on the 3rd of October, "This created considerable

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[1] Journal History, September 1, 1857.

enmity among the anti-Mormons in San Bernardino." He continues on the 20th, "San Bernardino was in a state of great excitement on account of the recent Indian difficulties." And on the 24th, "Several of the brethren arrived at San Bernardino with their families who came down the coast by steamer. They reported an excitement in the upper country and at Los Angeles in relation to the Mormons."

This event and the rumor of a possible war in Utah, plus the local friction, certainly put the Saints in a receptive frame of mind for the news of October 30, 1857. "President Brigham Young thinks that the valley of the mountains is the place for the Saints."[1]

On the 2nd of November Hopkins writes, "The counsel given by President Brigham Young to President Cox was to forward the Saints to the valleys as soon as possible in wisdom. President Cox thought it wisdom to forward a few immediately and then in a short time or as soon as we could arrange our debts, send the remainder. This he intimated to a few of the council, but as is generally the case, they had some particular friend to tell and that friend had to tell others, until our community is in a fever of excitement."

Immediate preparations were made to evacuate the

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[1] Records of the San Bernardino Mission, Oct. 30, 1857.

settlement. The official records for the 3rd reads, "Quite a number of the Saints of San Bernardino were preparing to leave for the valleys of Utah." Ebenezer Hanks left for San Francisco on the 6th to make arrangement for the ranch debt. This rapid preparation to comply with the call led to fears and counter fears by both factional groups. The anti-Mormon group spread rumors that the county officials were preparing to leave and take the county funds with them. Meetings were held at Los Angeles and El Monte in an attempt to arouse the people of that region to take active steps to prevent such actions. A committee was appointed to examine the finances. Rumors of Mormon-Indian raids, to obtain military supplies and horses, were also circulated. An attempt was made to get a company of soldiers stationed at Cajon Pass. Added anxiety was given the Saints by the rumor that the Cajon Pass would be blocked in an attempt to prevent the Saints from re-enforcing the Utah war front. Hopkins says, "They appear determined to bring collision about with the Saints by making informatory threats."

Ingersoll says, "Most of the San Bernardino settlers felt obligated to comply, and sold property which they had accumulated by hard work and economy at a ruinous sacrifice."[1]

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[1] Ingersoll, op. cit., 148.

Mr. Bell, a non-Mormon merchant, who left Salt Lake City on the 6th of November for Southern California met most of the wagon trains enroute to Utah. He says, "The whole settlement was in motion. Many, who had been before luke warm and were expected to apostatize surprised the Mormon authorities by selling out and taking the route for Salt Lake."[1]

The records of the 29th of November read, "A large number of Saints have sold out, intending to leave for Utah, though the mass of the people are yet here they intend to leave as soon as possible. The outsiders are purchasing our property at very reduced rates. They expect the people to take what-ever they offer for their houses, land, etc."

The correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his News from California, says, "Farms, houses, orchards, vineyards, all kinds of property which cannot carry itself or be carried in wagons, is being sold to gentile speculators who hurried in to buy for $1.00 what is worth $10.00.... Jefferson Hunt, assembly man of the legislature of the state, goes with the others. He offered a sawmill which cost $25,000 for $2,500. Mr. Stark, a brother of the well known actor, sold a house valued at $5,000 for $500. American cows worth, here, $100 at least are selling there at

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[1] Journal History, February 23, 1858.

from $25 to $35; and work oxen are sold for about one half their value. Furniture goes at the buyers own price."[1]

Other instances of property sacrifice are: an improved farm was exchanged for a camping outfit with which to make the long journey; a good four room house, well located and furnished sold for $40.00, with a buggy, a clock and a sack of sugar thrown in for good measure.[2]

The newspaper, Alta California states, "The (assessed) valuation of the property of those who have gone was over $200,000, and they did not realize more than a fourth of that sum."[3]

The Los Angeles correspondent of the Alta California writes on November 23rd, "Fifty-five families are said to have left that valley last week. They go quietly; in the evening they are about town and in the morning they are not seen. It is supposed that within six weeks 1000 persons will have forsaken their homes.....Men, women, and children go without a murmur."

The county officials closed their accounts and records and presented their resignations to the Board of Supervisors. The treasurer turned over $2,395 to the person

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[1] Journal History, November 23, 1857.

[2] Ingersoll, op. cit., 148.

[3] Journal History, January 12, 1858.

appointed as his successor. However, the city officials did not present resignations to anyone but simply closed their accounts and reports and left.

Mr. Bell stated that he met the first company of emigrants from San Bernardino two days after reaching the Rio Virgin and from there to San Bernardino he passed several small companies, enroute each day. He estimated the number of persons on the road as between 1500 and 2000.[1]

In his column referring to the Mormon exodus from San Bernardino, the Los Angeles correspondent of the New York Tribune says, "The Mormon population of San Bernardino numbers 1500 and according to reports they are all to go. Those who are too poor to provide wagons for their scanty provisions, cooking utensil, clothing and bedding, are to be furnished with wagons by the more wealthy or left behind and brought on by wagons which will be sent back."[2]

In a letter to the Millennial Star, Orson Pratt says, "We arrived in San Bernardino on the 10th of December, where we completed our purchases for teams, etc. On the 13th we left San Bernardino for the plains. We have been out ten days and have traveled 125 miles....The Saints in San Bernardino are selling their property at a great

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[1] Journal History, February 23, 1858.

[2] Ibid., November 23, 1857.

sacrifice and moving to Utah as fast as they can. By this time the great majority of them in the faith have left San Bernardino."[1]

The last entry made by Hopkins, in the San Bernardino branch records, reads as follows: "Tuesday, December 15, 1857, left San Bernardino for Utah."

Some speculation has been made as to the reason why President Brigham Young issued the order to break up this outpost.

Certainly the recall was timed correctly as to have the psychological effect upon the people that they "were being called home to defend Zion." Roberts says, "The reports that reached these outlying stations grew more and more exciting. The threatened conflict became a "Holy war" to them as to the Saints in Utah."[2] This undoubtedly accounts for the migration of the entire colony.

There seems to be no direct statement by Brigham Young that he was recalling the outposts to help defend Zion. Yet this seems to have been the reason given at the time and by the later writers. Neff says, "word came from their file leader to abandon the region and rally to the

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[1] Pratt to editor, Millennial Star, Vol. 20; 189.

[2] Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. IV, 240.

defense of Mormondom in the tops of the mountains."[1]

Beattie contends that the "counsel to break up the colony was not given for the sake of any military aid" that the men of the California settlement could supply in Utah. He continues that "Had such been desirable, it could have been secured by summoning the men alone, as is the custom in war time the world over." Beattie seems to forget, however, that the anti-Mormon faction was very antagonistic and active and the dispatching of any sizable force of men to Utah would in all probability have left that group in a position of control. And certainly the Mormon leaders would not wish to leave women, children and property to the mercy of apostates and outsiders during such trying times. If any effective military aid was to be given by this outpost the method used was perhaps the only safe one.

Beattie states, that "the frenzy of a Holy war" simply made it easier to carry out a purpose determined upon before any conflict with the United States government was in prospects, that of drawing Mormons more closely within the personal influence of the great leader, Brigham Young, in order to prevent their drifting away from the church into apostacy.[2]

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[1] Neff, op. cit., 223.

[2] Beattie, op. cit., 288.

There are some facts to substantiate the contention that the earlier colonizing plan had not proven entirely satisfactory to the Mormon leader, President Young. He had been luke warm to the project that would take a large number of Saints any great distance from their mountain rendezvous. On October 27, 1850 he writes, "We want to plant colonies from here to the Pacific Ocean; a few will go into the neighborhood of the Cajon Pass and make a settlement there."[1] In 1851 when a number of the former battalion members expressed a desire to settle southern California, "President Young seemed to be opposed to such a movement, as he desired all the Saints to gather in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. But he finally yielded the point and waved his objection."[2] After meeting with the Lyman-Rich Company, at Payson in 1851, to inspect the organization and give final instructions he writes, "I was sick at the sight of so many of the Saints running to California, chiefly after the gods of the world, and was unable to address them."[3]

The following extract in 1855 would indicate that the attitude of the Saints in the outposts did not satisfy

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[1] History of Brigham Young, 1850, 98.

[2] Journal History, Feb. 23, 1851.

[3] Neff, op. cit., 220.

the leaders and that the colonizing system and plans were under going some change. "Bros. Amassa Lyman and Charles C. Rich are at San Bernardino. Matters are rather scaly there. Wheat was all cut off by the rust and I think from reports the rust has struck the people.....We shall probably draw Brother Rich from the southern or San Bernardino mission as we think there is not much good left there when he gets out."[4] Both Rich and Lyman were recalled in the spring of 1857. This was certainly prior to the time that the leaders had any knowledge of any army being sent to Utah.

The formation with the friendly non-Mormons of a coalition ticket for county officers in the summer of 1857 and the including of Dr. Smith for assembly man, instead of Jefferson Hunt, indicates that the leaders of the settlement had some knowledge that more of their members would be recalled to Utah.

Whether the recalling of the Saints was a part of a new colonizing policy, previously worked out, to bring the members together in a more compact area where they could be supervised with greater ease; or was the direct result of an all out policy for the defense of Mormondom will, perhaps, remain a matter of opinion. However, response to the call did close the "corridor to the sea" as a Mormon

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[1] Journal History, Aug. 31, 1855.

outpost, along with the other colonies fringing the Great Basin. After an amicable settlement of their difficulties with the United States Government a new policy of colonizing was followed, a more intense settling of the "inner cordon."

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

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Journal History of the Church.
The Journal History covers the period from 1830 to the present and consists of over 660 loose leaf volumes. The material has been compiled from original documents and the entries are arranged by date. It contains extracts from diaries, minutes of meetings, letters and clippings from newspapers.

Journal of the San Bernardino Branch, (MS.)
The original journal of the San Bernardino colony kept by Richard R. Hopkins, the clerk of the branch. Only a part of the records have been preserved. They are on file in locked cases and are known as numbers 1420 and 1421. They contain accounts covering November 20, 1851 to December 11, 1853 and July 1855 to May 15, 1856.

Records of the San Bernardino Mission, California, (MS.)
Compiled by Andrew Jensen in scrap book form. It gives a day by day account of the events in the colony. It contains such documentary material as deeds, maps of surveys, and extracts from letters and diaries.

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This is a contemporary history compiled by the official secretaries and historians of the church. It is written in the first person as though Brigham Young had done it himself. It covers the more important events between 1844 and 1877. This collection is in several volumes and it is a basic church compilation.

Records of the Las Vegas Mission, (MS.)
This is the official journal of the Las Vegas Mission and was kept by the clerk of the Mission.

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